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**SOLVING THE PAYMENT PROBLEM: AN INTERACTIONAL
ANALYSIS OF STREET PERFORMANCE**

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Doctor of Philosophy

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2016

I declare that this thesis has been composed by me, and the work is my own.

This work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Tim Smith — 19 December 2016

Abstract

This thesis investigates how street performers entertain passers-by and audience members in exchange for money. Specifically, it investigates how this exchange relationship is accomplished in light of exchange happening outside the routine context of “the market”, where payment for goods and services is ordinarily enforceable. In this regard, this thesis seeks to uncover the ways that exchange in street performance is alternatively organised through donations, and how giving donations are produced and recognised as interactionally relevant and morally accountable actions. To that end, this thesis employs the allied approaches of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. It empirically examines video recordings of street performances, mostly collected at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe. Three kinds of street performance encounter are considered: these are musical busking, living statue performing, and circle show performing. The order of the discussions of these performances reflects the extent to which the performers explicitly recruit interactional resources—including talk, gesture and material objects—to morally obligate audience members and passers-by to give donations. The main thrust of this thesis is that street performers, passers-by and audience members collaboratively produce and recognise street performances as gifts that should be reciprocated. The street performances are initially freely given, but participation entails indebtedness that in various ways make remuneration interactionally relevant. In this regard, this thesis also explores how money, value and materiality feature in the giving and receiving of donations. This thesis provides new knowledge about how street performance encounters are ordered, how moral obligation is interactionally worked up through the sequential organisation of social actions, and how money donations are exchanged in return for entertainment. It also provides new understanding about how different kinds of street performance encounters share organisationally similar properties for solving the “payment problem”, but at the same time possess properties that are distinct.

Lay abstract

This thesis investigates how street performers entertain passers-by and audience members in exchange for money. Specifically, it investigates how this exchange relationship is accomplished in light of exchange happening outside the routine context of “the market”, where payment for goods and services is ordinarily enforceable. In this regard, this thesis seeks to uncover the ways that exchange in street performance is alternatively organised through donations, and how giving donations are produced and recognised as interactionally relevant and morally accountable actions. To that end, this thesis employs the allied approaches of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. It empirically examines video recordings of street performances, mostly collected at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe. Three kinds of street performance encounter are considered: these are musical busking, living statue performing, and circle show performing. The order of the discussions of these performances reflects the extent to which the performers explicitly recruit interactional resources—including talk, gesture and material objects—to morally obligate audience members and passers-by to give donations. The main thrust of this thesis is that street performers, passers-by and audience members collaboratively produce and recognise street performances as gifts that should be reciprocated. The street performances are initially freely given, but participation entails indebtedness that in various ways make remuneration interactionally relevant. In this regard, this thesis also explores how money, value and materiality feature in the giving and receiving of donations. This thesis provides new knowledge about how street performance encounters are ordered, how moral obligation is interactionally worked up through the sequential organisation of social actions, and how money donations are exchanged in return for entertainment. It also provides new understanding about how different kinds of street performance encounters share organisationally similar properties for solving the “payment problem”, but at the same time possess properties that are distinct.

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Introduction

A brief encounter

The following extract is taken from near the end of a “circle show” street performance, just before the performer completes his grand finale trick of squeezing his body through the frame of a tennis racket. At this point in the show, an audience of more than one hundred passers-by has gathered to watch.

(Simplified from extract 5.6.) (P = Performer; A = Audience)

- 1 P: Guys, I’m gonna ask you a question. I’d like an honest
2 response. Did you enjoy my show?
3 A: YEA:::::H

One way of understanding what is happening here is that the performer appears to be straightforwardly attempting to ascertain whether or not his audience members have enjoyed watching the performance. Perhaps the performer’s request for “an honest response” is oriented to the possibility that some audience members might not truthfully answer, so as not to hurt his feelings. Perhaps the performer had seen that some audience members did not appear to have enjoyed themselves. Perhaps to his relief, then, his audience members collectively and enthusiastically provide an affirmative response (line 3).

Interestingly, when we look at what subsequently occurs in the sequence, we see that the performer treats the audience’s response as consequential for something else:

(Simplified from extract 5.6) (P = Performer; A = Audience)

- 1 P: Guys, I’m gonna ask you a question. I’d like an honest
2 response. Did you enjoy my show?
3 A: YEA:::::H
4 P: Thank you. If you did enjoy my show, I know none
5 of you believe this, but this is my full time job. It’s
6 how I earn a living. It’s how I pay my rent. It’s how I
7 feed my child. So- Thank you. So, at the end, if you are
8 unable to make a contribution ((talk continues))

After acknowledging the audience's response ("Thank you"—line 4), the performer uses the conditional "If you did enjoy my show" followed by the announcement that performing is his "full time job". Through the construction of this turn-at-talk, the performer establishes a relation between the items "audience's enjoyment" and "performer's job" (The "if you" condition has, of course, just been definitively and publicly satisfied by the audience's response, at line 3). After a three-part list (see Jefferson, 1990), which underscores the importance of performing as his job (lines 4-6), the performer proceeds to talk about "contributions" (i.e., money donations).

With only this very short sequence of interaction, we can already appreciate the way that the performer designs his "turns-at-talk" (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) to solicit an action response from the audience, which in turn enables some further work to be done (I will say more about some of the nuanced work that occurs in this particular sequence of interaction in chapter).

Encountering street performance

There are classic urban studies that have offered descriptions of public space encounters and argued for their importance for living in the city. For example, Jacobs (1961) stressed the value of the sidewalk as a site of social contact: "They bring together people who do not know each other in an intimate private social fashion and in most cases do not care to know each other in that fashion" (Jacobs, 1961, p.55). In a similar vein, Whyte (1980, 1988) has carefully documented the use of urban public spaces and their material arrangement for enabling social contact. Gehl (2011 [1971]) has also described the social activities that emerge from shared use of public spaces, and argued for the importance of "life between buildings". These studies point to public space as a site for engendering meaningful social encounters.

Of course, one must recognise that public space encounters can also be sites of considerable tension (e.g., Duneier & Molotch, 1999; Swanton, 2010). Geographers researching the problem of living with difference and intercultural exchange have argued that there has been a tendency toward a "romanticization of [the] urban encounter" (Valentine, 2008, p.325), particularly by scholars who are associated with the "cosmopolitan turn" (e.g., Laurier & Philo, 2006a). This concern is grounded in the observation that the quality of contact of public space encounters, if there is contact at all, has been overstated. For example, Amin (2002) says "the depressing reality . . . is that in contemporary life, urban public spaces are often territorialised by particular groups (and therefore steeped in surveillance) or they are spaces of transit with very little contact between strangers" (p.967). Similarly, for Valentine

(2008) “many everyday moments of contact between different individuals or groups in the city do not really count as encounters at all” (p.326). Clearly, then, quite different viewpoints on the nature of encounters and social contact in the city coexist: for some, public space encounters in the city hold promise for the emancipatory possibilities of new connections, and of anonymity, plurality, and so on; for others, the city is prejudiced, alienating and marginalising (see Lees, 2004).

There is, however, an alternative project whereby encounters in public space can be treated as phenomena of investigation in their own right—where the analytic interest is with how *any* kind of encounter can be brought off as intelligible (Garfinkel, 1967). Indeed, it was Goffman’s (1963, 1971) seminal work on the normative organisation of conduct in public space that opened up social interaction as a possible topic for investigation (although, the approach taken in this thesis is somewhat incompatible with a Goffmanian one—see Watson, 1999). For example, he described how two persons passing by, who are unknown to each other, must nonetheless organise their actions such that they display a regard for the propriety of their conduct. One way of doing this, Goffman described, was through a display of “civil inattention” (Goffman, 1963, pp.83-88). Goffman urged that we attend to the ordinary, commonplace and routine order of social interaction. Since Goffman’s seminal work, scholars within the ethnomethodological and conversation analytic traditions have repeatedly asked the question “what do people use?” to organise and accomplish social interactions in public spaces as intelligible and orderly (e.g., Lee & Watson, 1993; Liberman, 2013; Mondada, 2009; Ryave & Schenkein, 1974). This thesis similarly takes that question and uses it to interrogate a specific kind of public space encounter.

In that regard, there are different categories of persons who have some kind of professional interest in their encounters and contact with others in public spaces—where public spaces are places of work. For example, there are persons who are concerned with ordering and maintaining public spaces, such as police officers, parking attendants, and refuse collectors (see Bittner, 1967; Richman, 1983; Sacks, 1972a). As part of undertaking previous research, I have also explored the kinds of recurrent encounters parking attendants have with motorists and passers-by (Smith, 2011), as part of the practical work of doing parking enforcement. Such encounters were characterised by an interactional struggle around the deploying of strategies and counter-strategies in relation to parking enforcement.

However, while those sorts of officials are paid a wage or salary to have a professional interest in public space encounters, there are also persons whose ability to earn a living and make money directly depends on the outcome of their

encounters with people in public spaces, both licitly and illicitly; for example, vendors (selling food, flowers and a variety of discount and second hand goods) and other salespersons, tourist guides, sex workers, pick pockets, and big issue sellers (see Clark & Pinch, 1995; Duneier, 1999; Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008; Maurer, 2003 [1964]; Rolph, 1955). Street performers share a similar interest in the potential for encounters with members of the public to yield positive economic outcomes. For many professional performers, the money that is earned on the street is their daily wage and main source of income (many also undertake paid work at private functions and have indoor shows). It is specifically this kind of economic encounter, in public space, that is the subject of investigation in this thesis.

Money for entertainment

Street performance is a globally popular medium of entertainment. It is an art form daily practised on city streets. It is also celebrated among numerous high profile arts festivals. At its heart is a principal that has been associated with its long history (Cohen & Greenwood, 1981): namely, that the performer provides passers-by and audience members with entertainment in return for money donations deposited into a “hat”.

Significantly, the exchange of money for entertainment happens outside the normal oriented context of “the market”.¹ By this I mean where the provision of goods and services (by a seller) are conditional on payment of money (from a buyer) for an agreed price. Take, for example, other forms of entertainment such as music concerts, theatre and cinema. In those kinds of entertainment “goods are normally displayed at a given price and exchange takes place when potential customers decide to buy at the price set by the vendor” (Mulkay & Howe, 1994, p.482). The transfer of money in exchange for access is handled and resolved prior to the show. This includes the decision to watch, purchase a ticket for a defined price, and then conclude the transaction with the transfer of money (physically or electronically). By contrast, in street performance the exchange of money for entertainment is, at first glance, voluntary. There is no enforceable contract between a performer and the people who stop and watch the performance.

The consequence of this is that the occasioning of a performance in the street, while undoubtedly a resource (see Gardair, 2013), is the singular source of an obstinate problem: consumption of the performance cannot easily be restricted or regulated. This is the essence of the *payment problem*. Street performers must somehow incorporate the payment problem into their shows, with the risk that they

¹ The concept of the market is theoretically contentious (for example see Swedberg, 2003).

could have their performances watched by many people while receiving little or nothing for their hard work and labour. In this regard, street performers freely give their performances to passers-by and prospective audience members, but they, nonetheless, make it an oriented feature of their performances that money *ought* to be given in return. This is built around the moral obligation that depositing a money donation into the performer's hat is the preferred reciprocal response to being entertained—this was partially demonstrated in the extract above.

To date, only a few studies have examined the fine grain interactional work of “doing street performance”. These have focused mostly on the beginnings of performances (e.g., Gardair, 2013) or, when directed toward the payment problem, have been undertaken as part of a broader interest in sales work (e.g., Clark & Pinch, 1995). A sequential examination of the payment relevant features of street performance has not been subjected to any sustained analysis. Furthermore, the existing social interactional analyses of street performance have been confined to one type—the circle show. Musical busking and living statue performances are two other popular forms of street performance. They exhibit different orders of organisation, and they are oriented to the payment problem in slightly different ways.

As such, in this thesis I examine how the payment problem is handled and solved in three kinds of street performance—the circle show, musical busking, and living statue performances. I investigate how the street performers, in concert with audience members and passers-by, ordered and organised their actions and activities so that they received money in exchange for providing entertainment. This investigative work is carried out through a close analysis of fragments of video recordings of street performances. The fragments belong to a corpus of recordings mostly collected during two successive years at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe (in 2012 and 2013). The analyses of those materials are informed by the cognate approaches of ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967) and conversation analysis (Sacks, 1992), and are supplemented by observations from ethnographic fieldwork and some informal discussions with street performers. Before setting out the aims of the thesis, it will be helpful to briefly introduce the reader to the main worksite of the analysed street performances: the Edinburgh Festival Fringe.

Street performing at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe

“The Fringe” is now regarded as one of the major annual performing arts festivals around the world. It began in 1947 “when eight theatre groups turned up uninvited to perform at the (newly formed) Edinburgh international Festival” (Chouguley, Naylor, & Rosmberg Montes, 2011, p.99). The Fringe held the

reputation as “a radical alternative to the elite cultural content of The Edinburgh International Festival” (Jamieson, 2004, p.67). The Fringe Festival Society formed a little over twenty-years later (Chouguley et al., 2011, p.99). In 1971 the Fringe Office opened “to provide support for uninvited performers and to generate information for the audiences concerning the performance schedules, venues and ticket information” (Munro & Jordan, 2013, p.3). The popularity of the Fringe Festival has gone from strength to strength; it has arguably overshadowed its older sibling, the Edinburgh International Festival, as the major summer attraction.

Notwithstanding other factors, there is a major economic incentive to come and perform at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe. Indeed, in 2012, the first year of fieldwork for this thesis, the Fringe Festival “was the largest ever arts festival in the world” (The Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society 2013, p.9). There were 1,857,202 tickets issued, 42,096 performances, and 2,695 shows (The Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society 2013, p.9). Performers from 47 countries participated across 279 venues (The Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society 2013, p.9). The total income for 2012 was £3,399,961, and the total expenditure was £3,263,050 (The Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society 2013, p.14).

The street events category of the festival performances, which comprises those performances examined in this thesis, is now itself a major attraction for festivalgoers attending the Fringe. In 2012 more than 6,000 street event shows were performed at the Festival (The Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society 2013, p.7). Crowds of thousands of festivalgoers taking in the sights and in search of entertainment amble around the festival zones of the Royal Mile and the Mound (both located in the city centre). Street performers can attract audiences in excess of several hundred people. (Thus, given the payment problem, the stakes are high insofar as ensuring that as many people as possible give a money donation before walking away.)

The Fringe does, however, constrain performers in a few ways: first, there is a fixed number of pitches within the festival zones (see chapter 2 for maps). These are further divided by the kind of performance that is permitted to happen there. For example, a musical busker cannot perform on the main High Street pitch; a circle show performer cannot perform on the Mound busking pitch. Second, performance opportunities are distributed using the apt “drawing a name out of hat” method. On having their name drawn out the hat the performer chooses a free time slot and pitch. If there are more performers than available slots then the ones that miss out are given priority the next day (on such occasions, performers will work other pitches outside the Fringe managed zones). Some performers’ shows are better suited to particular pitches, at particular times of the day, and so they are not always

able to select the preferred performance slot. The slots are also staggered so as to avoid two performers on nearby pitches directly competing against one another for the same potential audience members. Third, performances are time limited, and overrunning a performance slot can result in being barred from entering the draw the following day.

Prior to the festival, the Royal Mile—where the main, all year round, circle show pitch is located—is mainly used by a small group of regular, local performers. These performers organise performance times between themselves. On the Royal Mile, the performers are but one group of larger collection of regulars, including restaurant owners, pub and cafe servers, market stallholders, eccentrics and others who have cause to be there. Many of these persons, including the performers, know and regularly interact with each other. However, each year during the month of August the Royal Mile and the Mound areas of the city centre are transformed into (even greater) hives of activity, when the quotidian rhythms of the street (Simpson, 2012) are temporarily displaced by those of the “city *en fête*” (Jamieson, 2004). The Royal Mile becomes host to another, temporary, group of regulars — the people who will spend extraordinary amounts of time on the street, performing, promoting, and watching festival shows.

Thesis aims

In light of the payment problem, then, this thesis aims to contribute to both an extending and deepening of the existing interactional research on street performance. It shall deepen existing knowledge and understanding insofar as it will provide the first sequential examination of the exchange of money donations in return for entertainment in circle shows. It examines how circle show performers “work up” a moral obligation to donate through a series of carefully crafted moves toward the end of the performances. This includes explicitly talking to the audience about donations, bringing the performance to a close and then managing the donation activity itself. This thesis shall also seek to evidence how performers and their audiences progressively move from the organisationally distinct activities of “doing watching a circle show” to “doing donating in return for watching a circle show”, and how audience members actually go about giving money, i.e., transferring money from one person to another. It is a unique feature of the circle show that donating is an activity that is organised to occur *en masse*, i.e., audience members deposit money more or less at the same time as each other into the performer’s hat. The effect is a “many at a time” organisation, which is unique to circle show performances. This is also the case when compared with other orders of organised economic activity.

This thesis shall also extend the interactional research on street performing, insofar as it is the first to provide a sequential analysis of musical busking and living statue performances. Interactions with these kinds of performances are differently organised from the ones that occur in circle shows. The payment problem has to be solved using different practical resources available to the performers, passers-by and audience members. With the exception of Simpson's (2011a) use of video recordings of his own busking performances, there has been no examination of how different kinds of street performers—particularly those whose performances are almost entirely without talk—get paid for their work. These performers have to implicitly encourage donations through their performances; for example, by the design of their appearance and by initiating direct contact with passers-by, or by the proficiency of their musical performance and the appeal of their choice of songs. In addition, these performers' requests for donations are usually made in and through placing on the ground some kind of receptacle object to collect money. Donations are therefore an ongoing possibility throughout each performance. Passers-by and audience members are provided with no instructions about how giving donations should be organised.

As well as extending and deepening our understanding about how street performances happen, this thesis shall make several conceptual contributions within a wider body of literature around the sociology of markets: first, the thesis will provide an analysis of how donations were generated through the culturally ubiquitous phenomena of gift giving and reciprocity (e.g., Gouldner, 1960; Mauss, 1990 [1925]). It shall describe how gift giving and reciprocity were constituted as interactionally relevant resources, insofar as they were "put to work" in service of solving the payment problem. This contribution builds on Llewellyn's (2011a, 2011b) work, which analyses gift giving and reciprocity as phenomena that are collaboratively produced and endogenously recognised in interaction.

Second, the thesis will contribute to the interactional literature that has specifically focused on the situated use of cash-money as a resource (e.g., Llewellyn, 2015), and the practical accomplishment of value (e.g., Heath, 2013). Money and value have been extensively theorised in economics and sociology, but they are rarely studied in situ. The thesis shall therefore contribute new knowledge with regard to how money and value feature in a specific kind of economic encounter.

Third, the thesis examines how the materiality of the performance is an inextricable feature of its social organisation. In addition to the materiality of cash money, the analyses consider how the affordances (Gibson, 1986 [1979]) and configurations of the "hat" object were part of the occasioned way that donations

were organised. The analyses explicate how the materiality of the hat was used to accomplish particular social actions.

At a general level, this thesis shall contribute original, empirically based, analyses to the growing collection of interaction research that focuses on embodiment (see Nevile, 2015). This collection of ethnomethodological and conversation analytic work draws attention to the importance of studying social interaction not only through talk, but also through the use of gesture, objects and the material environment. These aspects and considerations of social interaction are particularly salient in musical busking and living statue performances (where talk is mostly and/or absent), but they are no less important for the accomplishment of circle shows. This thesis shall evidence how street performances are inextricably organised around embodied courses of action. With that in mind, the analyses employ both conversation analytic transcripts (e.g., ten Have, 2007 [1999]) and the experimental *graphic* transcript (see Laurier, 2014), to illustrate particular embodied actions and activities.

Beyond the scholarly contributions of the thesis, the findings should read as informative and interesting for practitioners of street performance. Of course, as all the previous researches on street performance (not just interactional) have shown, there is great deal more to “doing street performance” than can be possibly covered within the limits of this, or any, thesis. I am focusing on one aspect. Other topics remain unexamined, such as the accomplishment of tricks.

In this introduction, I have outlined the main aim of this thesis—to examine how the payment problem is solved in street performance—along with the additional ambition of street performance being a site for studying one kind of informal economic encounter. In chapter 1, I provide an overview of some of the key street performing studies. I then go on to set out the precise nature of the payment problem that constitutes money being given in return for entertainment outside the context of normal market exchange, which also illustrates a distinction from other informal market activities. I shall then develop an argument for analysing how exchange was alternatively organised. As part of this work I tease out three key areas of literature and identify the conceptual areas and issues that bear on the forthcoming empirical chapters. These are (i) gift exchange and reciprocity; (ii) money and value, and; (iii) materiality. Chapter 2 provides a set of methodological notes, including brief overviews of the thesis’s ethnomethodological and conversation analytic grounding. This chapter also discusses, ethics, using video, and salient transcription issues

Thereafter, the lines of inquiry discussed above are addressed in a series of

empirical chapters: chapter 3 examines how a musical busker attracted passers-by to stop, watch and donate, in and through their musical performance. Consideration is given to ways that stopping and watching was contingently organised around the musical performance, and the existing projects of passers-by. The busker's performance was freely given to everyone in general, but no one in particular. The chapter also examines the routine serial organisation of donations between the busker and donating audience members. Chapter 4 examines how a living statue performer generated donations by pursuing interactions with passers-by. The analysis focuses on the mermaid's targeted playful encounters with passers-by, as well as those encounters that involved posing for a photograph. For the playful encounters, the living statue performer directed the performance toward particular individuals. Chapter 5 is the first of three that examine circle show performances. This chapter attends to how performers handled the delicate matter of talking about donations by employing highly scripted and recurrent sequential objects of talk/ action in order to construct a moral obligation to give money at the end of the show. Donating was constructed not only as straightforwardly remuneration for the consumption of entertainment, but also as a way for audience members to assess the performance—to show how they have valued the performance. Chapter 6 provides the first analysis of how circle show performers bring their performances to a close. Here "closing" must be organised so that co-presence is retained, audience members do not walk away, and there is a reconfiguring of the interactional space and people to enable the donation activity to happen. In the final empirical analysis, chapter 7 provides an examination of how occasions of giving a donation in circle shows were accomplished. Here, the performer worked to retrieve "non-trivial" donations from audience members while also showing his or herself as appreciative. At the same time, an audience member who wished to have contact with the performer and show their appreciation had to find ways of making depositing money into the hat witness-able. The analysis shall evidence how donations could be accomplished as witness-able displays of appreciation.

Chapter 1

Street performance and the payment problem

1.1. Introduction

The street performers featured in this thesis entertained passers-by and audience members in return for money that was deposited into their “hats”. However, there was no guarantee that this would happen. Because of a shared orientation that money in return for participating in the street performance was not, and could not be, mandatory, it was possible for a person to stop and watch and then walk away without incurring sanctions. Access to the performance could not be easily regulated, and there was no enforceable contract. This was the essence of the payment problem. In this regard, the performances were organised around an alternative basis of exchange to that of the market: the street performers freely gave their performances to passers-by and prospective audience members, but they, nonetheless, made it an oriented feature of the performances that money *ought* to be given in return. The relevance for some kind of pecuniary return was built on moral obligation (Mulkay & Howe, 1994), where certain actions (e.g., stopping, watching, listening, laughing, and applauding) were accountable not only with regard to participating in the performance, but as “being entertained”. To be entertained was to be in receipt of something—an experience—and, therefore, it was to be indebted to the performer. Depositing money into the hat was then produced and recognised as the primary way for people to reciprocate—to show their appreciation and clear the debt. While these were “donations” in the sense that they were money gifts and not payment (i.e., mandatory and contractually obliged), they were not “spontaneous acts of charitable giving” (Llewellyn, 2011a, p.156); rather, they were produced, recognised, and given in return for watching and listening to a performance. At the same time, the performer made walking away to be *not* cost free. Indeed, for one of the types of street performance—the circle show—walking away without giving money was explicitly formulated as a morally accountable action. This was not the case for the other two kinds of investigated street

performance—musical busking and living statue performances.

In the rest of this chapter I review the literature that has investigated street performance. In particular, I focus on the ethnographic and interactional studies that have touched on the themes investigated in this thesis. I then set out the framework for analysing how street performances are ordered and organised around solving the payment problem. First, I discuss how the forthcoming analyses engage with some of the key ideas on gift exchange and reciprocity. Following Llewellyn (2011a, 2011b), I develop an argument for analysing gift exchange and reciprocity as interactional resources, as tools, to accomplish some specific piece of work. Thereafter, I go on to propose that two further salient aspects of street performance be analysed in relation to the payment problem: these are money / value and materiality. I argue that these are phenomena that can be analysed as part of the practical work of giving donations. Money, in particular, has been extensively theorised, but little is understood around how it gets used in actual encounters. Similarly, materiality has only recently been recognised as an important part economic action.

1.2. Studies of street performance

A career in street performance is not for the faint-hearted. It takes a special kind of person to ply their craft on the street. Away from the comfort and safety of the indoor venue, street performers must attract passers-by to participate as audience members; they must transform “urban space into theatre place” (Harrison-Pepper, 1990, p.140), they must entertain an incipient audience, and they must encourage donations to be given in return. It has been said that those performers who cannot rise up to the challenge soon disappear; this is because “the street is self corrective” (Campbell, 1981, p.124).

“Street performers”, “street entertainers”, “buskers”, “subway musicians”, “subway performers”, “street musicians”—these are all descriptions of persons that share the common idea that entertainment, whether that’s adopting a statuesque pose, juggling an axe or playing the guitar, is provided in return for collecting donations from passers-by and audience members.² With that said, not all types of street performance feature donations; for example, “radical” street performances can incorporate theatre, music, and clowns as part of communicating and engaging with politics, protest, and the environment, and not performing or entertaining for its own sake (see Cohen-Cruz, 1998).

² See: Clark and Pinch (1995); Harrison-Pepper (1990); Kushner and Brooks (2000); McMahan (1996); Moore (1974); Mulkay and Howe (1994); Prato (1984); Simpson (2008); Tanenbaum (1995); Whyte (1980).

Evidence suggests that street performance, in one form or another, has been around since Roman times (Cohen & Greenwood, 1981). From the wandering minstrels, to the modern day professional circle show performer, performing on the street has been a reliable way to earn money in return for entertaining passers-by. Insofar as street performance can potentially be practised by anyone, and watched and enjoyed by anyone, it is perhaps the quintessential form of democratic entertainment. In principal, it can be performed anywhere, but that is far from the case in reality. As Harrison-Pepper (1990) points out, “much of the history of street performance . . . is found in laws that prohibit it” (p.22).

Unsurprisingly, then, much of the scholarly interest around street performance has been in relation to its politics and regulation (Harrison-Pepper, 1990; Tanenbaum, 1995). Street performance has been studied with an interest in what it can *do* to public space. For example, transformative themes are discussed around “spectacularisation” (Prato, 1984, p.154) and “festivalised spaces” (Jamieson, 2004). Drawing on the works of De Certeau (1984) and Deleuze and Guattari (1988), Munro and Jordan (2013) describe the performers’ spatial “tactics” that create “smooth spaces” of “intensive qualities of sound and movement” (Munro & Jordan, 2013, p.15)—thus, temporarily disrupting the street as spaces of regulation and control. Doumpa and Doucet (2013) examine not the transformation of public space *per se*, but how street performance might shape and change people’s perceptions of public spaces. These studies draw attention to the way that street performances can potentially intervene in spatial, social and political configurations.

1.2.1. Ethnographies of street performance

Street performance has been a topic of several substantive pieces of ethnographic research, as well gaining recognition in studies that have focused on the places where street performance happens. For example, William H. Whyte’s (1980, 1988) now classic studies of sociality in urban public spaces recognise that street performance can provide opportunities to bring strangers into contact with one another, particularly through the effect of “triangulation” (Whyte, 1980). In terms of a topic in its own right, there are several notable ethnographic contributions. These will now be briefly discussed.

Perhaps the most well known of these is Harrison-Pepper’s (1990) study of Washington Square Park, New York. In the early 1980s, Harrison-Pepper spent four years hanging around, and with, various street performers. This research was completed as part of her doctoral studies. Harrison-Pepper watched many performers come and go, succeed and fail, and she provides rich descriptions around the kind of mettle that is required to earn a living on the street. In the study,

Harrison-Pepper pursues a spatial theme, and discusses the design and historical modification of Washington Square Park. This includes how, drawing on Edward Hall (1966), the “sociopetal” design of the space encouraged social interaction. Harrison-Pepper’s account of street performance locates the particularities and challenges of performing in public space (such as finding an adequate space to perform, working out a routine, gathering an audience, and encouraging donations). Harrison-Pepper documents a rich and complex ecology of people, time, and space (Bouissac, 1992).

Another significant contribution to the ethnographic literature comes from Tanenbaum’s (1995) fascinating account of subway musicians of the New York Metro. Tanenbaum explored the transformative and political possibilities that encounters through performance could offer, particularly in terms of the “cross cultural exchanges” (p.106) between the racially diverse performers and riders of the metro trains. In a similar way to Harrison-Pepper, Tanenbaum provides rich ethnographic descriptions of the way that the busking audiences assembled, drawing on Goffman’s (1963) distinction between “unfocused” and “focused” interaction; for example, the first people to stop and watch a performance would stand at the furthest two points of the (emergent) audience circle, and subsequent members would gradually fill in the gaps. Tanenbaum sees these focused interactions and the contact that arises between audience members—who are otherwise strangers to one another—as constituting “transitory communities” (p.105). Tanenbaum argues that subway performances have been overlooked by policy makers with regard to the way that they transform what is otherwise an alienating and functional environment into valuable sites for social encounters.

Within human geography, Simpson’s (2008, 2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2013) work on street performance draws on non-representational theory (e.g. Thrift, 2007) and a renewed interest in embodied “practice” and “performativity” (Nash, 2000). Simpson explores street performing ecologies through the features of affectivities, bodies and rhythms. This was investigated using “observant participation”, in which he undertook many hours of busking. The aim was to

examine the experience of performing in the street and the audience’s experience of such performances, but also to examine the everyday routines and how performers intervened into these. (Simpson, 2010, p.51)

Arising from this work, Simpson (2011b) describes how street performances potentially contribute something positive to our experience of everyday life in urban space, which can be otherwise habitual and routine. Simpson has also developed

non-representational themes around street performing beyond circle shows; for example, he has sketched out the affective relations that are produced through the presence and absence of donations (Simpson, 2011a), and in a “post-phenomenological” mode he has considered “practices of listening” and materialities of music that our bodies can encounter (Simpson, 2009).

Turning now toward focusing more on the social organisation of street performing, Carlin’s (2014) ethnographic work is self-described as “opportunistic”. Carlin proposes that such an approach offers certain advantages insofar as he was able to examine the “glance available categorization and identity-rich activities” (Carlin, 2014, p.159) of the performances. Street performances are observed to be “socially organised activities” (Carlin, 2014, p.157). Moreover, they exhibit “formal features” in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Carlin is also interested in the way that performers’ category identities can serve a “double duty” (p.10). That is, in the way that they hold “inter-cultural” appeal for tourists and visitors who encounter the performers, but that they also hold “intra-cultural” appeal in relation to encounters with those who are local. Appropriately, Carlin (2014) suggests that a next logical step on from his “natural observational study” (p.168) is to collect video recordings in order to “study closely the details of interaction between performers and passers-by [because] [r]ecording procedures would capture exchanges between performers and passers-by unavailable to casual or concerted observation” (p.168).

As it happens, there are already several of studies that have utilised video recordings of street performances (Clark & Pinch, 1995; Gardair, 2013; Mulkay & Howe, 1994). They have analysed some of the fine grain interactional details of performance encounters, providing new understanding about the way that street performances are ordered and organised. These studies, along with Carlin (2014), utilise the same ethnomethodological and conversation analytic orientations that are also taken up in this thesis (see chapter 2).

1.2.2. Social interactional studies of street performance

Perhaps the most substantive piece of interactional research on street performing to date is Gardair’s (2013) video ethnography of circle show performers at Covent Garden, London. The research focuses on how audiences are interactionally “assembled”. Gardair illustrates that what becomes the “performance space” has to be interactionally and collaboratively established with audience members. By the design of their talk, gestures and use of props, performers make observable to passers-by that a performance is about to happen. At the same time, stopping and watching has to be collaboratively organised amongst groups of

passers-by, which is accomplished through adjustments of orientation of the head and body. Gardair also shows how performers “train” audiences to provide certain responses. This is achieved by establishing an adjacency pair (Schegloff, 2007) relationship between a “trigger action” (for example, a gesture) and a particular response action (audience “woos”). This is a particularly interesting observation in terms of pointing to how performers maintain interactional control over their audiences (something which is also discussed in this thesis, specifically in chapters 5 and 6).

Turning to focus more on this thesis’s interest in how the payment problem is solved, Mulkay and Howe (1994) examine street performance as part of a broader examination of how humour gets used in economic conduct (e.g., Mulkay, Clark, & Pinch, 1993). Mulkay and Howe analyse video recordings of a circle show performer (specifically, a juggler). By examining the sequential organisation of the juggler’s talk and the audience’s laughter responses, they evidence how the circle show performer used laughter both as an interactional “resource” and “commodity”. With regard to the first use, generating laughter responses was an important method for attracting, retaining and obligating audience members; it was a means “to orchestrate their [audience member’s] actions and to maintain their involvement in his [the juggler’s] performance” (Mulkay & Howe, 1994, p.492). With regard to the second use, the performer would use the publicly observable fact of audience laughter to evidence that the audience has been entertained, and consequently as a means for morally obligating the audience to offer money donations.

The most relevant piece of social interactional work on street performing is Clark and Pinch’s (1995) chapter on “Street Entertainers and Urban Hustlers” in their book *The Hard Sell*. The book more generally describes the sales tactics of market pitchers (see also Clark & Pinch, 1988; Pinch & Clark, 1986). In the “street entertainers” chapter, the analysis is mainly based on a video recording of a comedian from Venice beach, Los Angeles. While market pitchers are concerned with mass selling cheap items, that can be displayed and handed over to “punters” as a resource for generating obligation, Clark and Pinch note that street performers have “nothing physical to sell” (Clark & Pinch, 1995, p.243). Nevertheless, certain kinds of street performers (such as the circle show performers investigated in this thesis) are able to draw on similar kinds of interactional resources. They draw on “rhetorical skills”, such as humour, to manage the audience, as well as interactionally “work up” an obligation through talk.

These interactional studies, along with the previously mentioned ethnographic work, provide an overview of a small collection of research on street performance

that share a common interest in explicating its organisational features. This has included the kinds of social interactions that occur between the performer, audience members and passers-by. The last two mentioned studies, in particular, have made invaluable contributions to providing better understanding around the kinds of interactional resources that street performers utilise to ensure that donations can be collected from audience members at the end of the performance.

However, there is still much to be understood about *just how* donations are generated, ordered and organised in street performance. For example, the notion of “moral obligation” is under specified. We do not know how audience members feature in this work. Indeed, with the exception of Gardair (2013), the role of audience members is reduced to almost passive recipients of the performer’s pitch for donations (see, for example, Clark & Pinch, 1995). But might the audience be analysed as active participants, where moral obligation is something interactively constituted in and through embodied audience responses (as opposed to something unilaterally imposed)? If so, then might some performers have also to prospectively design their actions so that they can head off possible resistance to give a donation in return for watching? A flavour of this kind of interactional work was demonstrated in the extract at the beginning of the thesis. The outcome it was designed to accomplish—having the audience commit a stance vis-à-vis the performance—was carefully crafted through the sequencing of performer’s talk and audience’s response. By closely studying such sequences of action, we can potentially find other places where similar kinds of interactional work occurs.

Relatedly, prior studies leave unexamined the embodied ways that participating in the performance through certain accountable actions (e.g., stopping, watching, listening, applauding) can be used to build a case for giving donations (but see Mulkay & Howe, 1994); participation is accountable as “being entertained”, and to be entertained is to be in receipt of something. As we shall see, to be in receipt of something often requires that it is reciprocated with something else. And while circle show performers are able to directly topicalise money donations in return for having being entertained, this did not happen with the musical busking and living statue performances. In those kinds of encounters there were other ways that passers-by and audience members were finding the relevance of donations.

The prior ethnographic and interactional research has also paid very little attention to the way that the donation activity happens; that is, the way that money is actually transferred from passers-by and audience members to performers, or indeed how the performer and audience member move from the performance into depositing donations into the performer’s hat. These parts of the show are treated as

epiphenomenal to the project of pursuing donations. However, depositing a donation into a performer's hat is quite a differently organised activity to participating as an audience member and watching a performance. It also necessarily requires collaboration between performers and audience members. How does one find when one should or should not donate? What does giving a donation entail? How much does one give? Although donations are deposited into the hat, how does one see that as the place to deposit, and not just a hat? More generally, depositing a donation is *the* place where audience members and passer-by have face-face encounters with the performer. These may be fleeting and transient encounters, but they are nonetheless encounters—they are potentially interesting sites of interaction.

1.3. Toward an interactional analysis of the payment problem

As noted by Clark and Pinch (1995) above, the street performers at the Fringe did not have the benefit of selling physical items to people. We can note how this contrasts with other kinds of economic exchange where physical items are transferred between sellers and buyers. For example, at the counters of shops and bars (Brown, 2004; Cavan, 1966; Richardson, 2014), market stalls and garage sales (Herrmann, 1997; vom Lehn, 2014b), auction houses (Heath, 2013), or even when purchasing a big issue magazine in the street (Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008). In each of those settings, money is transferred (physically or electronically) in return for taking possession of the goods. The street performers, on the other hand, were offering “experiences” to people (Kushner & Brooks, 2000).

Providing experiences is also how we can characterise many other forms of art and entertainment, such as cinema, theatre, opera, music, live music and vaudeville (the indoor equivalent of street performance). Significantly, access to consumption of these experiences is restricted, usually by some combination of human and non-human agents (Latour, 1992), including walls, doors, turnstiles, ticket desks and ushers. In this regard, such agents are able to “isolate [the] performance from the outside world” (Kushner & Brooks, 2000, p.68). Access is then made conditional on payment of a fee, typically by purchasing an entry ticket (see Llewellyn, 2015). Note that as well as evidencing entitlement to enter, the ticket stands as a proxy for the purchased experience and provides a material object that can be transferred to the purchaser. In this way, such experiences can be bought and sold as private goods, within the framework of market exchange.

The defining characteristic and appeal of street performance is that it happens *in and amongst* the outside world. With regard to the performances discussed here, that characteristic was certainly a resource for the occasioning of those

performances; for example, the street performers could utilise public space as a venue, without financial cost (although performers at the Fringe had to pay a registration fee); there was no fixed stage or seating and thus no pre-determined limit for the amount of the people who could stop and watch; audience members could be recruited out of the flows of pedestrian traffic and there was, therefore, little need for marketing in advance; the pedestrian traffic flows could also provide a continual supply of candidate audience members for the performance “each next first time” (Rawls, 2002, p. 30). However, the occasioning of the performances in public spaces was the singular source of an obstinate problem: in contrast with those indoor experiences mentioned above, the street performances happened in places where access to consumption of the experience could not be so easily regulated and restricted. The boundary between the performances and the surrounding space, in which myriad other social projects were being pursued, was relatively porous; people were able to (relatively) freely join and leave throughout the performances.

For the circle shows, one practical solution could have been to request money before beginning a performance (see also Clark & Pinch, 1995), or prior to the grand finale, as personally observed of a performance at Washington Square Park, New York. In which case, the transaction would closely resemble an arrangement of payment found in those other kinds of entertainment. However, such strategies run up against another kind of problem, well known to economists, in terms of availability of information (Kushner & Brooks, 2000). As Kushner and Brooks (2000) say

Usually, an exchange of experiences between audience and artists takes place in situations in which prices and time schedules are known in advance. Their certainty contributes to informed anticipation on the part of the audience regarding their prospective experience, and this anticipation helps to motivate audience willingness to pay. (p.66)

Such prior knowledge is plainly an important factor in making a decision to purchase a ticket for a defined price. Interestingly, this was something partly solved by the Fringe organisers, where a schedule of times was daily made available online to the public, and displayed on notice boards at the various pitches around the city centre. In addition, performer profiles were available to view on the Festival website, which provided brief information about the performer and their act, as well as links to promotional websites. Even so, plainly many, if not a majority of, persons who encountered the street performances had not planned to watch—they fortuitously discovered the performances in the course of other projects. With minimal prior knowledge about a performer or the performance, requesting money

at the beginning of the show would have likely resulted in fewer willing persons to give money, as well as limiting the amount of money that people would be willing to give.

By allowing audience members and passers-by to first experience the performance, performers were able to utilise the consumption of the performance to their advantage in several ways: first, they provided audience members with knowledge about the performance, particularly around the quality of performance and the performer's skill. Second, in some cases this could be useful for pursuing non-trivial sums of money—people were more like to give high value donations based on seeing impressive tricks and generally being entertained. Third, and perhaps most importantly, watching and listening to the performance placed audience members and passers-by under heightened moral obligation to reciprocate in terms of giving a money donation.

This last observation provides a point of departure for analysing the alternative basis of exchange: performances were freely given to anyone who wanted to stop and watch/listen to the performances; however, there was a purposeful ambiguity about such “freeness”, since when people stopped and watched a performance they were essentially making themselves visible as people who were “being entertained”—enjoyment was something publicly observable (Brown & Juhlin, 2015). That is, through observable displays of embodied conduct they were accountably receiving something (i.e., the performance) from the performer. As such, this produced a situation of indebtedness, where to walk away without offering something in return was to fail to reciprocate for the performance accountably received. However, in only one kind of performance was the lack of reciprocation explicitly topicalised (the circle show).

For all of the three kinds of performance investigated here, the performers either never made explicit that donations were a possibility, or did not reveal that information until some distance into the performance, at which point audience members were indebted (by virtue of stopping, watching, laughing, applauding, etc.). This exchange relationship was the practical solution to the payment problem. It closely resembles the organisation of gift exchange through moral obligation and reciprocity that has been extensively studied across the social sciences.

In the next section, I develop an argument for analysing donations in street performances as a form of gift exchange. However, following ethnomethodological and conversation analytic traditions (Garfinkel, 1967; Sacks, 1992), I argue for an analysis of gift exchange as something that is produced and recognised as interactionally relevant to the performers, audience members and passers-by.

1.4. Putting the gift to work

As a mode of exchange distinct from that of the market, gift exchange has been discussed at length (e.g., Bell, 1991; Lapavitsas, 2004; Rus, 2008). Such discussions extend back to the classic anthropological works of Bronislaw Malinowski (1966 [1922]) and Marcel Mauss (1990 [1925]). Malinowski's study describes, in great detail, the Kula exchange that was practised by the inhabitants of the Trobriand Islands. Contrary to views that exchange in such "primitive" societies happened on the basis of pursuit of self-interest and utility, Malinowski argues that, "*the whole tribal life is permeated by a constant give and take*" (Malinowski, 1966 [1922], p.167, italics in original). As part of the Kula, the men of the islands would exchange *soulava* (necklaces) and *mwali* (bracelets) between each other. These items were circulated around the ring of islands in opposite directions (clockwise and counter clockwise), and the exchange of gift and counter gift was the basis for lasting relationships between dyads. Malinowski describes how the Kula *vaygu'a* (valuables) served no practical use. The Kula exchange was also accompanied by a separate exchange, or *gimwali*, as part of which everyday items were bartered. In *The Gift*, Mauss (1990 [1925]) articulates an economy of gift giving that involved rivalry and competition with the recipient/return gift giver. Gifts were not exchanged between individuals but on behalf of whole tribes. Mauss says that, "prestations . . . are in theory voluntary, disinterested, and spontaneous, but are in fact obligatory and interested" (Mauss, 1990 [1925], p.1). Critically, each participant's status is at stake in gift exchange, where receipt of a gift should be countered with a gift of equal, or greater value—gift giving is a competitive form of exchange "so as to gain a social advantage" (Graeber, 2001, p.36). In the most extreme case, as practised by the Tlingit and Haida of North West America, the "Potlatch" actually involves the destruction of possessions (Douglas, 1990; Mauss, 1990 [1925]). Mauss's work on gift exchange continues to be influential.

An obvious place to begin toward considering how the street performances were organised around gift exchange is to consider what distinguishes gifts from commodities. Indeed, Llewellyn (2011b) says "any study of gift giving has to address the fundamental question of how gifts are to be delineated from other social objects" (Llewellyn, 2011b, p.720). Within the literature, this question has been mostly approached as a conceptual problem (e.g., Bell, 1991; Bird-David & Darr, 2009; Carrier, 1991; Currah, 2007; Lapavitsas, 2004; Rus, 2008). Gregory's oft-cited articulation of the different characteristics of gift and commodity is that "commodity-exchange is an exchange of alienable things between transactors who are in a state of reciprocal independence"; whereas, gift exchange "is an exchange of

inalienable things between transactors who are in a state of reciprocal dependence” (Gregory, 1982 in Rus, 2008, p.82). On these terms, then, gift and commodity are seemingly clearly defined and distinct objects. However, various studies have also shown that the boundary between what constitutes a gift and commodity can be blurred (Appadurai, 1986; Bird-David & Darr, 2009; Currah, 2007; Herrmann, 1997). Accordingly, one position is that we should think of the definitional archetypes as instead positions on opposite ends of a spectrum (Currah, 2007).

The difficulty with relying on such conceptual definitions, Llewellyn (2011b) argues, is that these “allow *analysts* to observe, delineate and classify gifts” (Llewellyn, 2011b, p.720, italics in original). While such concepts obviously do latch on to many of our common sense understandings of the qualities of gifts and commodities, they do not necessarily reflect how they are produced and recognised in particular social situations.³ Indeed, such definitions risk treating things as gifts or commodities as static, and ignore the fluid and practical ways that they are “things-in-motion” (Appadurai, 1986, p.5). That is, as things that can be dynamically configured as gifts and commodities in and through exchange (for example, see Herrmann, 1997).

An alternative way of investigating gift exchange and its differentiation from commodity exchange is to focus on, as Llewellyn (2011a, 2011b) does, the practical ways that people orient to things as gifts and commodities. For example, in a study of how money gifts were passed between passers-by and a big issue vendor, Llewellyn (2011a) evidences the embodied ways that both parties established that what was being transferred was a money gift, and not money to purchase the magazine on sale. This required a “witness-able” display of conduct that accomplished a displacing of the market, and the repositioning of the actors from potential purchaser/ vendor to donor/beneficiary.

Of course, the recognisability of a thing as a gift also implicates its counterpart in the form of the recognisability of a thing as commodity, and that has been demonstrated elsewhere by Llewellyn (Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008); through interaction, the big issue vendor and prospective buyers concertedly accomplished the witness-able fact that they were doing purchases and sales of magazines—i.e. market exchange. Consider how certain interactional outcomes were routinely foreclosed as possibilities: while it was possible to pass money gifts to the vendor,

³ Llewellyn (2011) provides an illustrative anecdote of the time he intended to loan a book to a friend but it was instead assumed to be an offer of a gift. Resolving the misunderstanding (or not as it happened) about the status of the book (as gift or not) was entirely a practical matter.

nobody attempted to take away the magazine without paying. The magazine was routinely treated as a commodity—something that had to be purchased, and, moreover, at a set price.

Llewellyn's ethnomethodological approach to studying the ways that gifts and commodities, and exchange more generally, is practically accomplished provides an interesting point of departure for analysing the street performances in this thesis. As already discussed above, the street performers had nothing physical to sell and had limited control over who got to watch and listen to their performances. The exchange of money for entertainment could not be organised around the market. Thus, the starting point of inquiry here is to ask how was it that the street performances were produced and recognised as things that made money donations interactionally relevant at all? How did an orientation to the performance as a gift get constituted as interactionally relevant?

With such questions in mind, we can look to Mauss in beginning to think about what it was about the performances that could make the exchange of money an interactionally relevant response. At the beginning of his investigations, Mauss poses the following questions: *"In primitive or archaic types of society what is the principle whereby the gift received has to be repaid? What force is there in the thing given which compels the recipient to make a return?"* (Mauss, 1990 [1925], p.1). In this regard, Mauss goes on to say that gift exchange generates three interrelated obligations: these are the obligation to give, the obligation to receive, and the obligation to reciprocate. Relatedly, Simmel said that the force of giving a gift in return is "neither social nor legal but *moral*" (Simmel, 1950, p.392, italics added). The generation of moral obligation is internal to the logic of gift exchange.

The moral obligation to reciprocate gifts with counter-gifts, more broadly captured under the concept of exchange, has been discussed at length by Gouldner (1960), as part of a critique of functionalism. Gouldner argued that exchange operates on the basis of a universal "norm of reciprocity". He describes the norm of reciprocity as follows:

There are certain duties that people owe one another, not as human beings, or as fellow members of a group, or even as occupants of social statuses within the group but, rather, because of their prior actions. We owe others certain things because of what they have previously done for us, because of the history of previous interaction we have had with them. (Gouldner, pp.170-171)

To receive a benefit from another is to be in their debt, and an obligation to reciprocate is generated. Note, however, that what constitutes "exchange" is quite

vague; it could be the reciprocal exchange of gifts, but it could also be the reciprocal exchange of dinner invitations (Carruthers & Espeland, 1998).

The norm of reciprocity comprises two conditions: first, that “people should help those who have helped them”; second, “people should not injure those who have helped them” (Gouldner, 1960, p.171). Gouldner argues that it is this generation of obligation that stretches across time and which contributes “to the stability of social systems” (p.175). As Malinowski describes of the Kula Ring, there is usually a period of time before gifts are returned (Gouldner, 1960). Note that Bourdieu (1977) proposes that it is the time between reciprocating that is key to distinguishing things exchanged as gift or commodity. The obligation that has been generated means that in the intervening period the beneficiary will do no harm to the benefactor.

In his own work on “picking up the bill”, Llewellyn (2011b) details how groups of visitors to an art gallery were faced with the practical task of organising payment. Visitors were confronted with “a small number options that are not sociologically equivalent” (p.719). There were occasions when a person would offer to pay for another as a “treat”, and thus not seek reimbursement from their companion. In these interactions, an orientation to reciprocating the gift, or “treat”, was explicitly formulated (e.g., “well, I’ll treat you to a cup of coffee in a moment” (Extract 1: p.726)). Similarly, the task for this thesis is to track how the actions of audience members and passers-by display a similar kind of orientation to being in receipt of something and how that can be connected with giving a money donations as a means of reciprocation.

While the norm of reciprocity, says Gouldner (1960), should be regarded as culturally universal, it is by no means *unconditional*: “such obligations of repayment are contingent upon the imputed *value* of the benefit received” (p.171). The value is said to be contingent upon the status of the parties. Gouldner also says that the amount of what is returned is an “empirical question”. Consider as an illustrative example that the art gallery visitors in Llewellyn’s (2011b) study routinely displayed an orientation to the magnitude of reciprocity due. So, in the example above, one friend offers to reciprocate by purchasing a cup of coffee for the other, and not, say, a new car. There is, then, a certain taken-for-grantedness about what constitutes an adequate amount of reciprocity—of working out equivalence (Gouldner, 1960)—but this still has to be worked out in situated real time by the beneficiary.

In the domain of street performing we might expect this to have a heightened relevance and importance because performers rely on audience members to reciprocate money in return for participating in the performance. Unlike the art

gallery, where at least the price of the entry ticket was available to the friend-as-beneficiary, this was not always the case in some of the street performances. Indeed, in the busking and living statue performances, which are discussed in chapters 3 and 4, there was less information available about what might be considered as an appropriate sum of money to reciprocate; whereas, in the discussed circle show performances, especially in chapter 5, the performers explicitly addressed this matter as part of a specific project to maximise the amount of money that was collected. Later, I will say more about the value of performances.

There are two other matters that have been discussed in the gift giving literature that connect with the subsequent empirical work here. These are the notions of the “free gift” and “first gift”. The notion of the “free gift” is considered as troublesome because it does not generate social ties (As Douglas (1990) says in her foreword to *The Gift*, “a gift that does nothing to enhance solidarity is a contradiction” (p. X)). In *Argonauts* Malinowski (1966 [1922]) finds only two cases of the “pure gift”—those given between husbands and wives and between fathers and sons. Despite the Trobrianders themselves stating these were, return gifts (*mapula*), Malinowski argues that these were gifts were, in fact, fathers’ expressions of affection. However, Malinowski would later state that he’d made an error in classifying these things as free gifts by “tearing the act out of its context, of not taking a sufficiently long view of the chain of transactions” (Malinowski, 1957, p.82)). In the big issue encounters, Llewellyn (2011a) evidences the way that passers-by and the vendor attended to the problematic of “spontaneous acts of charitable giving” (p.156). He says that

Charity was rarely explicitly offered . . . They were revealed implicitly in and through utterances such as “that’s fine” or “there you go”, from people returning the magazine (“got that one”), raising the palm of their hand or passing money and quickly walking away. (Llewellyn, 2011a, p.169)

While free gifts are plainly problematic in many settings, if we continue to think about gifts as things that can be used to accomplish some particular work, could they be usefully employed in street performance to get something done? With this in mind, we can look to Laidlaw’s (2000) discussion as part of a broader analysis of giving *dan* (gifts) to Shvetambar Jain renouncers in India. In pursuit of spiritual purification, which includes the commitment to asceticism, the renouncers rely on collecting alms consisting of food from Jain families. This happens according to strict rules, in order to preserve the gift. Turning to the free gift, Laidlaw demonstrates that it has a fundamentally paradoxical nature. He does this by

drawing on Derrida, who describes four conditions that are required to produce a free gift (Laidlaw, 2000, p.621): most importantly, there should be no reciprocity; both the donor and the recipient should not recognise themselves as donor and recipient; and the thing should not exist as a gift. To acknowledge the gift, therefore, is to destroy it—the free gift has a “self-negating character” (Laidlaw, 2000, p.628), and thus it is a fragile thing.

Laidlaw goes on to argue that the rules of *dan* are an institutional solution in order to preserve the free gift (though he says that this is not entirely successful), which would otherwise reconstitute the alms as the Maussian gift. Interestingly, Laidlaw says that Mauss uses the taken for granted acceptance of the possibilities of free gifts and their “non-contractual moral content” (p.627) as a counterpoint to the actual facticity of gifts being suffused with obligation. Indeed, this is one of his first statements he makes in *The Gift* (Mauss, 1990 [1925], p.1) (As quoted above). The idea of the free gift “supplies the moral content . . . that makes contract possible” (Laidlaw, 2000, p.627). The strategic aspect of the gift is then introduced, which requires that a gift should always be returned. The upshot of combining these two features is that in *The Gift*, Laidlaw argues, Mauss is making the case for gift exchange and its intrinsic capacity to generate social ties as an alternative to market exchange. In this regard, the potential of the free gift is important because

gifts evoke obligation and create reciprocity, but they can do this because they might not: what creates the obligation is the gesture or moment which alienates the given thing and asks for no reciprocation. (Laidlaw, 2000, p.628)

Returning to the street performances, then, we might also be able gain some analytic traction with the notion of the free gift and its fragile status. However, here the interest is with how it might be put into service for getting some work done. As I’ve already mentioned, the street performances were always given (initially) freely for anyone who encountered them. Because the performers relied on the spontaneous attendance of people who happened to encounter the performance, there could be some practical advantage to having passers-by and audience members initially orient to performances as free, with an orientation to the moral obligation to reciprocate only later to emerge. The analytic task is to track how that happens.

Following on from this, we might also find some analytic purchase around the notion of “first gifts”. According to Simmel (1950), a first gift “has a voluntary character which no return gift can have” (p.392). The reciprocated gift is always a sequential second. This would seem to chime with the special character of the

paradoxical free gift outlined above, insofar as a first it has a potentiality that is subsequently negated through its recognition as being a gift. As conversation analysts have forcefully argued in terms of analysing pairs of sequential actions (e.g., Schegloff, 1968), the sense of a first action is contextually determined by what it is in response to, and it *is* recognised *as* being in response to something. Simmel is right to say that first gifts can possess “a beauty, a spontaneous devotion to the other, an opening up and flowering from the ‘virgin soil’...which cannot be matched” (Simmel, 1950, p.393), but again, presumably *that* might serve some strategic interactional work.

One final thought on gifts: Carrier (1991) says “for Mauss, a gift is any object or service, utilitarian or superfluous, transacted as part of social, as distinct from purely monetary or material, relations” (p.122). Wouldn’t this fact—that the exchange of the gift occurs within pre-existing social relations, or at the very least is a generator of ongoing social relations—seem to be at odds with the character of the encounters in street performances? After all, they are encounters that are mostly fleeting, one off, with no lasting relationship between performer and audience member/passers-by. However, if we treat Mauss’s observations not as definitional, but as an injunction to investigate gift exchange as a tool, then we can potentially investigate it as a resource that can be put to work in order to get something quite particular done. In this case, as a practical resource for handling the practical problem that consumption of the street performance cannot be easily controlled or enforced and therefore cannot be easily worked up as straightforward payment through market exchange. In this way, working up street performance as a gift would provide the performer with a way of making giving donations an appropriate way to reciprocate. The materials presented in this thesis shall discuss several different ways that street performers were able to have audience members and passers-by give money donations, by first gifting their performances to them. The discussed performances had the appearance of being “freely given” but they were then generators of, with varying degrees of explicitness, an obligation to reciprocate. It is thesis’s argument that it is in and through the interactional work of the performance that street performers were able to solve the payment problem.

In this section I have set out how the forthcoming empirical chapters engage with the literature surrounding gift exchange, reciprocity and moral obligation, by analysing occasions of audience members and passers-by stopping, watching and donating money into the street performers’ hats.

1.5. Money and value

We also cannot go on to analyse how donating happens in street performance

without also engaging with the existing literature around money and value, as well as, more specifically, cash. When money was offered to the street performers, passers-by and audience members always handed over cash—coins and notes.

It was a significant feature of the street performances in general that there was no fixed amount of money that audience members and passers-by deposited into the performers' hats. In theory there was no limit on the amount of money that could be deposited (which, of course, also included no money at all). In reality, audience members and passers-by gave a relatively small range of denominations of cash-money. Just how audience members and passers-by valued the performances was contingent, interactionally established, and, most importantly, an emergent feature of the performances.

A general definition of money is that it "is used to evaluate, to assess the magnitude of value possessed by some good or service" (Carruthers & Espeland, 1998, p1388). Furthermore, it "provides the currency, the standard, the common language which enables us to reduce heterogeneity, to construct an equivalence and to create a translation between [things]" (Callon, 1998, p.21).

Money was at the centre of the work of Marx, Simmel, and Parsons (Baker & Jimerson, 1992). However, money per se was not of primary concern, but more abstractly how monetisation transformed and depersonalised social relations through a process of rationalisation. Marx, of course, famously used the term "cash nexus" to describe the way that capitalism reduces human ties to mere calculation and self interest (Dant, 2000). And although only relatively recently attracting interest, Simmel's (1978) *The Philosophy of Money* contains a similar thread that social relations are reified and made autonomous through monetary exchange (Frisby, 2002; Turner, 1986). In that regard, Zelizer (1994) argues that sociological analyses of exchange have largely been shaped by a utilitarian view of money, and this has endured as a dominant paradigm. Indeed, Zelizer says "it is a powerful ideology of our time that money is a single, interchangeable, absolutely impersonal instrument—the very essence of our rationalizing modern civilization" (Zelizer, 1994, p.1).

Strangely, then, despite money being a substantive topic in both sociology and economics, it is "not well understood" (Ingham, 2004, p.4). Ingham (2004) says that "most orthodox economic theory focuses on the concept of money essentially as a *medium of exchange*" (Ingham, 2004, p.6). Based on this assumption, money can itself constitute a commodity (e.g., a coin); it can be a "direct symbol of such a commodity" (e.g., a note); or it can be a symbolic representation—a measure—of a commodity (Ingham, 2004, p.6). This conception of money-as-a-commodity—as a

thing that “possesses value”—can be traced back to the work of Aristotle (Ingham, 2004). Money is neutral, and merely assists, or “lubricates”, commodity exchange; money’s role is thus simply to “overcome the ‘inconveniences of barter’” (Ingham, 2004, p.17). For Ingham (2004), this account is unsatisfactory for explaining how money became established as the universal equivalent—the commodity theory failed to adequately specify the nature of money, or its “moneyness”. The fact that money can be used across multiple transactions at least presumes its existence as an institutional fact (Ingham, 2004, p.23). Furthermore, the commodity theory failed to explain the existence of credit. Ingham (2004) says “credit could not easily be accommodated in the concept of the ‘real’ economy as a structure of exchange ratios (object-object relations) based on the preference of individual utility maximizers (agent-object relations)” (Ingham, 2004, p.22). Credit money creates debt and that exists entirely as social relation between agents. For Ingham, the idea that money (along with its particular characteristics of moneyness as an *abstract* store and measure of value) is a consequence of its emergence as the universally accepted commodity in exchange is flawed: “The very *idea* of money, which is to say, of abstract accounting for value, is *logically anterior and historically prior to market exchange*” (Ingham, 2004, p.25, italics in original).

Turning to money and value in social theory, for Marxian theorists money is grounded in the labour theory of value (see Fine & Lapavistas, 2000; Lapavistas, 2005). In *Capital*, Marx (1976 [1867]) accounts for the genesis of money as the form of value in which the exchange value of commodities is expressed. This comprises a description of the value-form of commodities. Briefly, a simple form of value involved the exchange of a quantity of commodity “X” (the relative) for a quantity of commodity “Y” (the equivalent). Crucially, “exchangeability is represented by the material of the equivalent” (Fine & Lapavistas, 2000, p.365). Gradually, exchange expands as a commodity (relative) is exchanged with several others (equivalents). Certain commodities then become selected as recurrent equivalents, which “[gives] rise to the ‘general form of value’” (Fine & Lapavistas, 2000, p.366). Thereafter, “commodities temporarily acting as general equivalents acquire an additional use value, namely their exchangeability with several others” (Fine & Lapavistas, 2000, p.366). On this account, money’s additional use value as commodity is that it becomes a “universal equivalent” (Fine & Lapavistas, 2000).

Money has also been conceptualised as a sign or symbol, based around Saussure’s semiotics (Smelt, 1980). For example, as part of Parsons’ project of building a social systems theory (Chernilo, 2002; Ganßmann, 1988), money was an exemplar of “symbolically generalized media of communication”. It is a “‘symbolic’

phenomenon" (Parsons, 1967 in Ganßmann, 1988, p.290). Such media are "specific forms of social coordination" (Chernilo, 2002, p.433), which regulate "intra- and inter systemic exchange processes" (Ganßmann, 1988, p.289). Parsons considered money the exemplary medium from which other all others are analogous (Ganßmann, 1988, p.289). For Ganßmann, the problem with Parsons' assertion that money is a sign is problematic because it is construed as a "harmless social device" (Ganßmann, 1988, p.292). Ingham (2004) also adds that Parsons' conceptualisation of money ignores the fact the domination also happens by controlling the production of money.

Habermas subsequently modified parson's theory; he argued that money, along with power, are media that are part of the "societal subsystems" that intrude upon, or "colonise", the lifeworld (Ganßmann, 1988, p.294). Money derives its structure from language, and, thus, is a "special language": it has "the properties of a code with the help of which information can be transferred from sender to receiver" (Habermas, 1981 in Ganßmann, 1988, p.296). However, Habermas's model has been criticised as "undercomplex with regard to the factual uses of money" (Ganßmann, 1988, p.297). Ganßmann (1988) further elaborates:

Selling and buying, the standard uses of money, consist not only of formulating offer and demand messages by referring to the monetary code. Selling and buying involve effective transfers of goods, changes of possession of goods on the one hand, and money ('tokens') on the other. When 'a' buys a cow from 'b' for the price of \$200, there is something quite different and more complex going on than when 'a' sends 'b' the message: what a nice cow you have. (p.297)

Simmel provides an alternative conceptualisation of money and value. For Simmel (1978, p.69), value is produced through the separation between object and subject, and the subject's desire to overcome that separation: "The value of an object is the degree to which a buyer wants it. It is measured by how much that person is willing to give up in order to get it" (Graeber, 2001, p.31). This formulation has been criticised by those that follow a Marxist theory of value because Simmel seems to mix economic value together with subjective value (Fine & Lapavistas, 2000). Nevertheless, for Simmel, money is a "representative of *abstract value*" (Ingham, 2004, p.63). This is partly a rejection of the commodity theory because value is not constituted through the cost of production or supply and demand (Ingham, 2004, pp.63-64). Thus, money refers to abstract value, whereby value does not reside in the money object. Money is the expression of the "*relation* between things" (Simmel 1978 [1907] in Ingham, 2004, p.64).

Descending from these dizzying heights of theory, money and value are

nonetheless matters that we routinely encounter as part of practical lives. But to follow up Ingham's comment at the beginning of this discussion, what people *actually do* with money is also not well understood. Indeed, concrete uses of money seem to be treated as epiphenomenal to the theoretical projects of both economics and sociology described above. To some degree, this understandable given that, as Llewellyn (2015) says, it is not until we are in unfamiliar situations, such as going on holiday, that we become conscious of our practices of use—for example, which coins and notes refer to which denomination? Is that item good value for money? But there is the argument that money “can be understood only in its context [of use]” (Baker & Jimerson, 1992, p.679). Taking such an approach can reveal a world of differentiated uses of money. Perhaps most well known, in this regard, is Zelizer's (1994) descriptions of the multiple ways that supposedly colourless and fungible money (as argued by proponents of the commodity theory) is actually earmarked for different uses; for example, money can be differentiated as domestic and gift money. While Zelizer stops short of analysing concrete instances, she nonetheless draws out how money is situated within quite distinct social and cultural relations. Thus, in studying concrete instances of money we can potentially shed light on the situated use of money.

A first thing to consider, therefore, might be the interactional significance of the money object itself—in terms of money's material properties. In that regard, some early ethnographic studies are briefly worth mentioning. Although based on analyses of naturalistic recordings, perhaps one of the most exemplary accounts to draw attention to the materiality of money and its use for a particular kind of economic activity is Maurer's (2003 [1964]) ethnography of pickpockets. (Note that, following Zelizer, pickpockets earmark money taken from a “mark” as “score”.) For the pickpocket, money is subject to a range of technical considerations in relation to assessing the difficulty of the steal: for example, if it is rolled-up in a bundle or in single pieces; in what type pocket the money is kept; what kind of wallet; and so on. In a similar vein, Cavan (1966) describes in her ethnography of public bars how patrons would leave money on the counter not only for the bartender to take payment for each ordered next round, but as a marker that a seat at the bar was occupied. For regulars, who were familiar with this practice, these piles of money witness-ably belonged to somebody—as Sacks (1992) would say, money in such circumstances visibly attained the quality of a “possessive”. These studies point towards the situated use of money and point to the money objects and their material, configurable properties as being used as resources for particular (anti)social actions.

There are also now a few studies of social interaction that have begun to draw attention to how the uses of money, or more specifically cash money, is an inextricable part of exhibiting “plans, intentions and understandings of market actors” (Llewellyn, 2015, p.4) in economic exchange. Most recently, Llewellyn (2015) examined cash payment transactions for entrance tickets to an art gallery. (While this work explicitly focuses on the money object, it is worth noting that his prior work on sales work and gift giving points to the materiality of money as part of sequences of practical action (see Llewellyn, 2011a, 2011b; Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008).) In this study, Llewellyn examines how co-interactants—visitors and staff members—organised payment at the counter. For example, specific denominations of cash were witness-ably produced and recognised as exhibiting particular payment entry choices. Cash was used as an “organising device” (Muniesa, Millo et al. in Llewellyn, 2015, p.8). The materiality of the cash objects was entangled in the work of payment. Displaying, placing, and moving cash money accomplished payment. In the empirical examples, Llewellyn makes the observation about the pragmatic differences in media between cash money and cards, where the latter would have limited functionality to accomplish the same kinds of payment-related actions.

A similar line of inquiry is pursued by Richardson (2014), in her doctoral research on service encounters at the bar counter. Customers and bartenders coordinated their actions of payment for food and drink. Richardson identifies a “preference for progressivity in the service encounter” (p.222), where customers would, for example, retrieve or preselect particular denominations of cash money as part of undertaking preparatory work. Customers would also sometimes retrieve money but then refrain from overtly displaying it until the moment of payment, and bartenders would not retrieve cash until orders had been completed. The physical transfer of cash money from customer to bartender was shown to be finely coordinated, although occasions of misalignment could occur. The affordances of how different money media could be used as resources as part of producing orders is particularly relevant for the analyses contained in the forthcoming chapters. For example, coins could be stacked by patrons so as to be ready to transfer; they also could be jangled so as to make audible, and therefore witness-able, that payment has been readied. On other hand, notes could be manipulated so as to be held in the hand, but concealed until the precise moment of payment.

These studies draw our attention to the way that, while money and its practices of use are evidently taken for granted, analysis of how money features in street performance interactions could provide new insight into the way that money

is actually used and handled in economic encounters. This is something that has been almost entirely overlooked in the theoretical work on money. In that work, the money object is interesting only insofar as it either evidences money as itself a commodity, which has intrinsic value, or its significance is overstated and misconstrues the nature of money and “moneyness”. Here, the interest is with how did audience members and passers-by organise depositing money into the performers’ hats? What sorts of money did they deposit? How was depositing organised? And what kinds of resources did the affordances of the money objects provide?

With regard to value we might similarly investigate it as a practical problem for street performers, audience members and passers-by rather than on a conceptual level (for example, as Marxist political economy does through the labour theory of value). In this regard, there are some differences to be drawn with those occasions of placing orders at the bar, purchasing big issue magazines, and purchasing entry tickets to a gallery. In those interactions the relevance of value was perhaps only observable insofar as customers tacitly accepted the value of drinks, food, magazines and tickets in and through their purchases. There was no negotiating over price, where the value of items might have been made visible. Indeed, in the case of the purchasing the Big Issue, it was precisely because the magazine had a fixed price that, when paying above the cover price, additional money given could be produced as a gift (Llewellyn, 2011a). Prices of goods were made available through bartenders, vendors and employees, as well as menus and information boards. Customers were then mostly able to evaluate in advance whether or not to purchase. In some respects, then, the purchase of a beer or entry ticket to an art gallery would appear to be quite distinct from giving donations in the street performances analysed in this thesis.

There are, however, a few studies that have analysed instances of economic action where value *is* an oriented matter, reflected through the variable pricing of goods and items on sale, and where value is an emergent feature of the interactions themselves. Three areas of research need briefly mentioning: first, are Clark and Pinch’s (1988, 1992, 1995; Pinch & Clark, 1986) various studies on market pitchers that describe the interactional routines of sales work, whereby items are sold following seemingly large drops in initial price. Part of the work of dropping the price was to show that the items were being sold cheaply, and thus constituted *good value*. Despite the pitchers knowing in advance what the final price of the goods would be, and therefore they could have simply announced the final price from the outset, this would have not allowed for the production of an elaborate sales routine.

Such a routine was designed to draw a crowd and then constitute the items as good value. Good value, as evidenced by the final cheap price, was something that had to be interactionally produced. Second, Heath's (2013; Heath & Luff, 2007a, 2007b) work on auctions contains a similar orientation to value, although price moved in the other direction. As part of "the run" of bidding, dyads of bidders competed against one another over a series of bids and the price was escalated over a series of turns. The interactional organisation of the bidding process was instrumental in order to "systematically reveal demand and through open competition determine the value and exchange of goods" (Heath, 2013, p.55). The run was an efficient way of transparently accomplishing the sales of antiques with uncertain value (Heath, 2013, p.217), where integrity of the order of sales was vital for preserving the reputation, and thus continuation, of the auction houses. Heath points out that often the prices achieved by a painting, for example, could subsequently influence the valuation of an artist's collection. Thus, again Heath shows us how value is something emergent and interactionally established. Last, vom Lehn's (2014b) work on sales at market stalls analyses the way that vendors and customers haggle over prices for second hand items. "Pricing", says vom Lehn (2014b), "is a communicative practice" (p.1451); pricing lets potential customers know that items are "*purchase-able*" (p.1454, italics in original). Initial price, either written on labels or verbally revealed by the vendor, were starting positions from which negotiation could take place. Revealing multi-buy offers was a way for the vendor to encourage additional items to be selected, and, much like Clark and Pinch's market pitchers, allowed the vendor to interactionally accomplish further price reductions. The vendor could also cite significantly reduced prices on, for example, a damaged item, and thereby constitute the selling price as a bargain (e.g., a damaged book selling at fifty pounds would otherwise be worth one hundred pounds (vom Lehn, 2014b, p.1460)).

The analysis of street performances presented in this thesis shall add to this growing body of literature around the interactional accomplishment of value and price. As already indicated, passers-by and audience members were freely able to stop and watch performances without first depositing money. In Simmelian terms, there was no distance to overcome between subject and object, and thus we might expect that, left to their own devices, persons would have generally attributed lesser value to the performances. As Simmel (1978) says, "objects are not difficult to acquire because they are valuable, but we call those objects valuable that resist our desire to possess them" (p.69). However, we shall see that for one of the kinds of street performance the performers did not leave the matter of determining value to

audience members. Value and its relation to money was explicitly formulated via a scale of suggested donations. For the other two kinds of performance value was something that was left for audience members and passers-by to figure out, and this shall provide a useful point of analytic contrast. We will see how the different interactional organisation of value was related to the kinds of denominations of money that could be deposited into the performers' hats.

1.6. Materiality and the hat

Beyond analysing how cash money is a feature of the social organisation of donating occasions, there is another feature of donations in street performance that I shall consider in the empirical materials. While I have alluded to the hat in discussing the basis of exchange and money in the preceding sections, I have not yet identified the hat as a focus of inquiry.

As I will show, while, in many ways, the musical busking, living statue, and circle show performances were differently organised, they nevertheless shared the feature that money was deposited and collected using a "hat". Performers frequently used an actual hat, but they also sometimes used alternative receptacle objects such as cloth bags and decorative boxes. Furthermore, a variety of hats were used, including the iconic Bowler and Top hats, and one performer used a hat that considerably extended in depth when unfurled.

The use of the hat meant that when money was donated by audience members and passers-by it was not transferred directly between persons in the way that, for example, happens at the bar, shop counter, market stall, or purchasing a big issue magazine. We might approach the analysis of the hat in interactions between street performers and donating audience members/passers-by as a "mediating agent" (Preda, 2008).

In this regard, one of the recent developments in economic sociology has been a turn to consider the materiality of exchange (Beunza, Hardie, & MacKenzie, 2006; Callon, 1998; Callon & Muniesa, 2005; Knorr-Cetina & Bruegger, 2002; Muniesa, 2008; Preda, 2008), with an interest in how objects, artefacts and technologies organise and shape economic conduct. One way of approaching such phenomena might be through Callon's (2005) notion of "agencement" (see Hardie & MacKenzie, 2007), which has its roots in Actor Network Theory (for example, Latour, 1992) and Science and Technology Studies. And while eventually arguing for an analysis of the materiality of street performing using an ethnomethodological/conversation analytic approach, it is nevertheless useful to briefly consider economic sociology's contribution to materiality around economic conduct.

By materiality, Pinch and Swedberg (2008) mean "the notion that social

existence involves not only actors and social relations but also objects” (Pinch & Swedberg, 2008, p.1). With regard to the recent work in economic sociology, Pinch and Swedberg (2008) suggest that Granovetter’s (1985) concept of “embeddedness” be expanded to include materiality. This would reflect the fact that networks do not only consist in social relations, but also of things and objects, or “market devices” (Muniesa, 2008; Muniesa, Millo, & Callon, 2007). Indeed, they say that,

the market, for example, is not just some abstract structure of social relations or an institution consisting of rules and regulations; it also involves material objects, be it in the form of balances, coins, tickers, telephones, or computers. (Pinch & Swedberg, 2008, p.9)

Such market devices are not “pure instrument”; rather, they themselves “do things” (Muniesa et al., 2007).

Preda’s (2008) wonderful account of the introduction of the “stock ticker” into financial markets is an exemplar: the stock ticker was a “printing telegraph” that produced the name of securities and their prices on a stream of paper tape. Before its introduction, the New York Stock Exchange comprised differently organised markets, including contrasting temporal trading structures (continuous and discontinuous). This created the problems of the potential heterogeneity of price and the availability of up to date and accurate price information. Furthermore, as both kinds of market accomplished transactions through “speech acts” (Preda, 2008, p.228), which were then recorded in multiple locations (i.e., using formal accounting records but also on numerous paper slips), the accuracy of transactions were subject to further variability. Significantly, the introduction of the stock ticker

endowed price data with a new temporal structure, visualized in a new way. It made visible price variations, which now flowed without interruption. Irregular, large time gaps were eliminated, or made imperceptible. (Preda, 2008, p.231)

The ticker also produced real-time abstracted records of transactions that could be rendered simultaneously observable to multiple observers. Thus, the stock ticker “contributed to a radical . . . reconfiguration of the visual experience of the market” (Preda, 2008, p.233). According to Callon and Muniesa (2005), Preda shows that “the ticker did more than [merely] provide information: it constructed data that, owing to their format, produced specific effects of cognition and action” (Callon & Muniesa, 2005, p.1237).

Muniesa (2008) and Mackenzie (2016) also discuss the materiality of financial trading. Muniesa (2008) discusses the use of “telephone turrets” that, for example,

allows traders to communicate simultaneously with several interlocutors.

Mackenzie (2016) describes the relatively recent shift to transactions based solely on interactions between algorithms in High Frequency Trading. Here the materiality is characterised in the way that the action of one algorithm produces a response action in another. Mackenzie also points to way that automated trading has necessarily required technologically advanced infrastructure, where, for example, proximity of a trader's servers to those of the exchange is strategically, and thus economically, consequential.

Through such studies we learn that "market devices play a crucial role in the formation (and the deformation) of economic configurations" (Muniesa, 2008, p.290). But we can also widen this interest in objects and artefacts to beyond economic activity in financial markets. In particular, around the kind of non-market encounters that is of interest here. As Preda's (2008) study shows so clearly, objects and artefacts are more than simply instrument; rather, they shape and structure.

The researches within the fields of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis have taken a similar position. Although, they in some sense diverge from those studies above, because they are concerned to specifically explicate "the ways in which objects feature in specific courses of action and interaction" (Hindmarsh & Heath, 2000, p.527). This is with a view to understanding how material resources are made relevant and implicated in the production of social order. For example, in an introduction to an edited collection of interaction, objects and materiality, Nevile et al (2014) say that the studies evidence

how objects are constitutive of and constituted through interactions. That is, they show how people interact with objects, and use objects to interact with others (*objects as situated resources*), or how people shape, design and orient to objects as emerging in and through social interaction (*objects as practical accomplishments*). (p.4)

Especially since the turn to collecting video recordings of social interaction, scholars within EMCA have discussed the significance of materiality, and objects and artefacts in particular, in both "mundane" and "institutional" settings. For example, as part of collaboratively working through homework (Goodwin, 2007), drinking coffee on a lunch break (Laurier, 2008), interacting with museum exhibit pieces (vom Lehn, Heath, & Hindmarsh, 2001), holding GP consultations (Heath, 1986a; Robinson, 1998), undertaking technical work on the London Underground (Heath & Hindmarsh, 2000) and working in a telecoms control room (Hindmarsh & Heath, 2000).

More relevant for the topic of this thesis, studies of economic encounters have

pointed to the interactional significance of materiality and objects; for example, in the timely use of the auctioneer's hammer, or "gavel", to close a sale (Heath, 2013); the placing down of second hand goods at a market stall to exhibit a "change in status" from "potential purchase" to item of interest (vom Lehn, 2014b, p.1457); and, of course, the use of cash money to exhibit plans and intentions and progress interactions (Llewellyn, 2015; Richardson, 2014)

Therefore, a similar examination of materiality of the hat and its relevance for the organisation of the interaction in street performance shall be undertaken. Analytical lines of inquiry will include examining how the hat featured in interaction across the three different kinds of street performance; how it was used as a resource for contributing toward the organisation of the street performances; how the production and availability of the hat shaped how money donations were deposited; and how the hat, and its material properties, could be used to accomplish particular social actions. In sum, within the forthcoming empirical chapters, I shall seek to evidence how the hat was a crucial mediating agent in solving the payment problem.

1.7. Conclusion

The preceding sections have provided an overview of some of the key work on street performing. In particular, attention has been drawn to the substantive ethnographic studies previously undertaken, as well as a small body of work that has contributed to an understanding of street performing as an interactional accomplishment. I then went on to discuss how the analyses shall make contributions to discussions around gift exchange and reciprocity. I argued that, following ethnomethodological and conversation analytic approaches, these can be analysed as situated interactional phenomena. The subsequent empirical chapters shall evidence how gift exchange and reciprocity are used as interactional resources and collaboratively produced and recognised in order to build moral obligations to give donations. I also set out the case for analysing both the related phenomena of money and value, but also the materiality of the hat as further interactionally relevant matters. Overall I have sketched out what is distinct and unique about street performances in terms of the kind of economic exchange that occurs.

With regard to the individual kinds of street performances, notwithstanding the contributions of Mulkay and Howe (1994) and Clark and Pinch (1995), little research has been carried on what happens near, or at, the end of circle shows. Prior to the finale, performers need to attend to the matter of audience members giving donations at the end of the show. But this has to be done while the performance is still happening; performers must bring the show to a climactic finish, and then they

must collect donations from audience members. Despite prior research being directed to the beginning of circle show performances (Gardair, 2013), the sequential organisation of what happens at the end remains unanalysed. A substantive chunk of the empirical analysis (chapters 5, 6 and 7) will therefore be directed to this task; that is, providing a sequential analysis of how the ends of circle show performances are ordered and organised so that performers get paid for their work.

Insofar as focusing on what happens at the end of the circle show leaves much about the nature of the performance unexamined, the reader should bear in mind that there is a tradition in conversation analytic research of focusing upon a particular phenomenon within social interaction. For example, Schegloff's (1968) early paper on "openings" limited its concern to the "summons-answer" adjacency pair, and Schegloff and Sacks's (1973) classic paper on closings was confined to examining pre-closing and closings turns.

Turning now to the other two empirical chapters in this thesis, the existing social interaction studies of street performance have focused on analysing circle show performances (but see Carlin, 2014). There has been no sustained analysis carried out on other kinds of street performance. This is perhaps surprising given that musical busking and living statue performances are just as prevalent forms of street performance. These two kinds of street performance are differently organised compared to the circle show. In particular, they are performances in which interactions with passers-by and audience members happen in the absence of, or with only minimal, talk. This raises questions about how performers make relevant, and how audience members recognise, giving and receiving donations. Clearly, the busker or living statue performer cannot work up a moral obligation to donate in the same way as the circle show performer. What do these performers use? Furthermore, these performances are characterised by donations being given *during* rather than at the end of the performance. How does this feature get organised? There is, therefore, potentially much to learn about how the payment problem gets solved in musical busking and living statue performances.

Last, examining the three kinds of street performance—musical busking, living statue, and circle show—will also provides an opportunity to reflect on their distinct organisational properties. In particular, we will be able to examine how different street performances are organised toward generating and collecting donations.

In next chapter, I will outline the methodological approach that underpins the analyses across throughout empirical chapters, as already alluded to in this chapter. I shall also discuss some of the main practical considerations around undertaking

empirical research, including: collecting video recordings, ethics and transcription issues particular to researching street performance.

Chapter 2

Methodological notes

2.1. Introduction

This chapter orients the reader to the methodological underpinnings of the thesis. It begins by providing a brief overview of the allied approaches of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis and points to their suitability for studying social interaction in street performance. This is followed by a brief rationale for the preference of using video recordings as empirical materials, particularly in studying embodied conduct. The ethical issues that surround video recording in public places are also discussed. The chapter then goes on to provide an outline of the fieldwork undertaken, the materials collected and some transcription practices, including presenting the analyses as “graphic transcripts”.

2.2. Ethnomethodology

The case for examining how street performances are ordered, organised and accomplished, with a particular focus on the sequencing of payment, is grounded in a distinct methodological orientation. Generally speaking, this orientation is that social interaction is inherently orderly, and the practical actions, methods and procedures that people use to accomplish social order are endogenous to that selfsame interaction. Furthermore, because those actions, methods and procedures are the very things that get used to make social interaction intelligible (Garfinkel, 1967), they can be observed and studied.

The emphasis on studying practical actions, methods and procedures is attributable to the sociologist, Harold Garfinkel. As a student of Talcott Parsons, Garfinkel was interested in “the problem of social order”. Unlike Parsons, however, Garfinkel rejected the notion that social order is explained by persons acting on the basis of internalised norms and rules, and instead recognised that people reflexively organise their conduct so that social order is an ongoing achievement (Heritage, 1984b). Garfinkel developed this understanding based on the Schützian idea that intersubjectivity is achieved through each individual’s use of taken for granted,

shared knowledge (Heritage, 1984b). However, Garfinkel transformed this idea by showing that shared understanding is ongoingly constituted in and through social interaction, and that it is an entirely moral matter (Heritage, 1984b). In this regard, individuals *trust* that the sense of their actions is intelligible to others, and act on that basis unless problems arise. Garfinkel (1967) was able to demonstrate what happens when that trust is disturbed, as part of his breaching tutorials; for example, he instructed researchers, as part of conversations with others, to call into question the sense of what were, for all intents and purposes, plainly obvious talk (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984b). The other persons quickly sanctioned such actions, as the researchers were held “morally accountable” for their actions (Heritage, 1984b).

The significance of Garfinkel’s work was that it challenged the idea that social science held the monopoly on making visible and accounting for how order was possible in an otherwise seemingly chaotic world. For Garfinkel “social order exists in the social world independently from the social scientific observer and is produced in and through participants’ actions” (vom Lehn, 2014a, p.52). “Ethnomethodology” was the name Garfinkel gave to the study of the members’ methods that are constitutive of that order.

The single most important characteristic of ethnomethodology is “its appreciation of, and attention to, the detailed orderliness of social life” (Francis & Hester, 2004, p.211). As such, an ethnomethodological approach is appropriate for examining how street performances are organised, and how performers, audience members and passers-by solve the payment problem in situ. Ethnomethodology’s ambitions are directed to drawing attention to the way that social order is an endogenous achievement of members’ methodic procedures and practices. As Hester and Francis (2004) say

the discovery of such orderliness is not difficult and certainly does not require recourse to heights of theoretical speculation. Rather, understanding that orderliness requires shifting one’s gaze towards the mundane activities of those members of society and what they know and use to accomplish their activities. (p.211)

A significant and related development for doing ethnomethodological research came in the form of conversation analysis, which was created by Garfinkel’s collaborator, Harvey Sacks (see Sacks, 1992). Through conversation analysis, Sacks provided a method that permitted the accomplishment of social order to be systematically studied. This involves analysing recordings of social interaction, and then describing how members ongoingly assemble their actions as sensible, intelligible and orderly. This approach is consistent with Garfinkel’s

emphasis on action and the achievement of social order as “sequentially organised” (vom Lehn, 2014a). The next section briefly discusses the conversation analytic method and suggests its suitability for analysing social interaction in relation to street performance.

2.3. Conversation analysis

Conversation analysis “seeks to describe the underlying social organization . . . through which orderly and intelligible social interaction is made possible” (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p.283). It investigates the way that courses of action are built through the sequence organisation of “turns-at-talk” (Schegloff, 2007). In this regard, Sacks and his colleagues demonstrated how the turn organisation of “ordinary” conversation is systematic (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

A basic example of a sequence consists of the “adjacency pair”. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) defined these as comprising a “two utterance length”, “adjacent positioning of component utterances”, and “different speakers producing each utterance” (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p.295). Beyond the sequential positioning, Schegloff and Sacks specify how the two parts of an adjacency pair “have an achieved relatedness” (p.296). That is, there is a first pair part and a second pair part, where the former makes relevant the latter of the same type. Heritage (1984b) points out that adjacency pairs are normatively organised. By this he means that when, for example, a participant asks a question he or she analyses what follows next to see if an answer has been provided. If it has not he or she might be able to take certain courses of remedial action (e.g., repeat the question) in a subsequent turn. Similarly, a recipient of a question displays his or her orientation to the normative expectation to provide an answer, for example, by answering or alternatively providing an account in the place of not answering.

Through the example of adjacency pairs, Heritage (1984b) makes a powerful point about how a participant “can use his or her action as a presumptive basis on which to interpret what a next speaker says” (p.254). In this way, participants are able to inspect turns-at-talk for how they relate to a prior and produce subsequent turns accordingly. Significantly, because co-participants display understandings of a course of action to each other through their turns-at-talk, they are “publicly available” (Heritage, 1984b). This also permits us, as analysts, to inspect and analyse that work—to analyse how participants are organising their interactions and the work that is being accomplished. In the same way, with regard to the interactions that occur between street performers, passers-by and audience members, they are also busied with the work of producing actions and analysing what each other is doing in response. Therefore, it follows that these can also be analysed for how

courses of actions and activities are organised, and the order that is produced.

Heritage (1984b) identifies three core assumptions in CA: (i) “interaction is structurally organized”; (ii) “contributions to interaction are contextually oriented”, and; (iii) “these two properties inhere in the details of interaction so that no order of detail can be dismissed, *a priori*, as disorderly, accidental or irrelevant” (p.241). With regard to the first assumption, CA has identified stable structures of talk such as “openings” (Schegloff, 1968), “closings” (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) and “preference organisation” (Pomerantz, 1984), which operate across many interactions. These structures “stand independently of the psychological or other characteristics of particular speakings” (Heritage, 1984b, p.241). So, for example, “closings” in different telephone conversations are similarly structured because they recurrently involve both “pre-closing” and “closing” adjacency pairs. Therefore, we might anticipate that similar structural patterns might operate in street performances. With regard to the second assumption, any single contribution to an interaction is both “context shaped” and “context renewing” (Heritage, 1984b, p.242). A turn-at-talk, for example, is context shaped because its sense is related to the surrounding talk. It is also context renewing because it contributes to the unfolding sense of subsequent talk. Thus, any action has to be examined in terms of the situated context in which it occurs, and cannot be abstracted. This means that examining actions as part of street performance have to be considered in terms of their sequential context. With regard to (iii) above, this means that doing conversation analysis requires close examination of the empirical details so that the analysis is grounded in how participants themselves are producing and recognising social actions. As such, it is analytically appropriate to use recordings of street performances rather than, for example, ethnographic observation.

2.4. Using video in social interaction research

Heath (1997) says “ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, whilst providing important resources for the analysis of talk, can also provide a methodological foundation for investigating the visual as well as vocal aspects of human conduct” (p.183). Indeed, Heath (1986a, 2013), along with Goodwin (1981), has pioneered studying how visual and vocal aspects are co-implicated in social interaction. These studies were also pioneering in the way that they used video recordings for this purpose, in the same way that Sacks and his colleagues had used audio recordings to analyse talk. As part of the “embodied turn” (Neville, 2015), using video recordings for the purpose of analysing social interaction is now a widespread practice amongst EMCA researchers (e.g., Broth & Mondada, 2013; De Stefani, 2013; Lindwall & Ekström, 2012; Weilenmann, Normark, & Laurier, 2014),

and is similarly adopted in this thesis.

Of course, using video does not fit all research purposes. As Simpson's (2011a) non-representational descriptions of his own busking experiences illustrate, the use of video alone was insufficient to recover the positive / negative affective relations he experienced, which were generated in and through interactions with passers-by and audience members. The relative merits of using recordings, however, is that they provide records of the observable, concrete details that members produce, use, miss, ignore, act upon and select as a resource for building social actions with others. Video can provide a researcher with multiple "watchings", and the benefit of this is that we can (if we so choose) repeatedly return to those taken-for-granted practices that (we as) ordinary members accomplish. Thus, a video recording can be an "aid to a sluggish imagination" (Lynch, 2002, p.535).

When informed that (video or audio) recordings of social interactions will constitute the "data", a classic concern issued from both natural and social scientists is around the presence of the camera affecting the behaviour of the participants. If this is the case, the argument goes, then how do we know that the observed behaviour was not simply an artefact of the camera? How can we make any sorts of claims about the behaviour being naturalistic, and therefore, generalisable to similar interaction where there is no camera? There are several responses that can be provided: first, the presence of recording equipment is common to many settings, and not only present for research purposes. In street performances, the audience members will routinely video record shows on their smartphones, tablets and cameras. If the problem of changing behaviour were one simply attributable to the presence of a video camera, then surely this also would apply to those other occasions. Second, persons plainly do sometimes orient to the presence of the recording device (see Laurier & Philo, 2006b; Speer & Hutchby, 2003). However, these instances can themselves be analysed as accomplishing intelligible social actions.

Using any kind of recording equipment as part of fieldwork also requires some consideration of technical matters. These will necessarily have some bearing on what phenomena are captured and, therefore, what analysis is produced. In this regard, given that street performances can occupy large areas of space, in which performers interact with audience members and passers-by, there was a need to capture as much of the immediate setting as possible. Therefore, it was appropriate to use "wide-angle shots" (Laurier & Philo, 2006b, p.182) and, where possible, a second video camera. In this regard, I followed Heath, Hindmarsh and Luff's (2010) observation on camerawork; that is, a preference for having at least one video

camera placed in a fixed position (as opposed to “roving”). This made possible filming a portion of the audience where a constant field of action could be captured, and did not require constantly anticipating “where the action is”.

2.5. Ethical issues

While the locations where street performances happened were just those kinds of “tourist zones” (Laurier & Philo, 2006b) where members of the public were accustomed to seeing video and photographic recording happen (Heath et al., 2010), there were, nonetheless, ethical issues that had to be considered. Some of these are now discussed.

Prior to video recording, verbal permission to record each street performer was secured. This involved explaining the aims and general interests of the research to the performer; for example, examining how street performances happen and what kind of social interaction occurs between performers and audience members/passers-by. Prior to undertaking the research, I made the decision that it would not be appropriate to ask performers to sign a written consent form. This was based on reading Harrison-Pepper’s (1990) ethnographic study of street performers in Washington Square Park, New York; Harrison-Pepper emphasised the importance of gaining the performers’ trust and confidence in participating as research subjects. Consent does not begin and end with signing the form and, given the extended period of fieldwork (within which video recording would happen), I instead considered that consent was something that would remain a live issue throughout the fieldwork.

As a condition of recording, performers were told that no video would be placed in the public domain without their prior consent. Performers were also given the opportunity to be provided with copies of the recordings, and some did take up this offer (using clips as part of promotional videos or uploading to YouTube). Interestingly, I soon realised that the offer of providing performers with the recordings used in this thesis was not as attractive as first imagined—wide angle lens footage is only useful up to a point, and does not capture the kinds of shots used in promotional videos (e.g., audience close-ups, tricks filmed from interesting angles, etc.). At the subsequent festival, as a recruitment incentive, I offered to shoot promotional footage in return for research footage, although this was also not very successful due to my limited camera skills.

Arguably, a far trickier issue was the issue of consent from members of the public who were captured on the recordings. These included the people who participated in the performances in some way, and the many passers-by who were moving through the area at the time of recording. It was neither practical nor

possible to gain the individual consent of each and every one of these persons. The *Codes of Ethics and Conduct*, set out by the British Psychological Society (2009) advise that:

Unless informed consent has been obtained, restrict research based upon observations of public behaviour to those situations in which persons being studied would reasonably expect to be observed by strangers, with reference to local cultural values and to the privacy of persons who, even while in public space, may believe they are unobserved. (p.13)

There was a reasonable case for concluding that festivalgoers and tourists expected their behaviour to be observable to others and, indeed, observed. The Edinburgh Fringe Festival is one of the largest performing arts festivals in the world and attracts significant media coverage. Professional film crews were commonplace and would regularly film performances and festival crowds (Indeed, during one of the circle show recordings a professional cameraman was also filming the show!). Moreover, the ubiquity of portable devices such as smartphones and tablets has meant that making video recordings, particularly in “tourist zones”, is unremarkable.

Nevertheless, certain measures must be taken to inform members of the public about the research. The following procedures are suggested by Heath, Hindmarsh and Luff (2010): (i) to produce an information sheet that explains the project aims and scope (with adequate contact details) to give to any enquiring member of the public (see Figure 2.1 below); (ii) to explain to any person who approaches the researcher that they can ask to be removed from the recording (with the relevant video footage deleted) because individuals might not *know* that they have this option; and (iii) when dealing with enquiries, to stop recording during this time. These are broadly the measures adopted by researchers who have conducted video-research in public and semi-public spaces (Laurier & Philo, 2006a; Llewellyn, 2015; Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008; vom Lehn, 2013, 2014b) and were also adopted here (see appendix B). An additional measure used by these researchers has been to place signs at strategic locations that also provide a further opportunity to opt-out. Simpson (2010), in his busking fieldwork, also used a sign to inform the public that video recording was ongoing. In this research, I did not use a sign. The main reason for this was that it was often difficult to place a sign that could actually be seen and read by people (and not just one or two might happen to notice it). For example, for the circle show performances there was no nearby wall on which a sign could be placed. Furthermore, placing a sign in the performance area would create its own problems (in terms of inviting disruption and possible danger to performer and

audience members). One additional measure I did employ was to use a “filter” effect in Comic Life as part of producing the graphic transcript images. This has removed detail from the faces of persons in the foreground, and almost entirely anonymised persons in the background.

2.6. The fieldwork

The fieldwork was undertaken in several parts.

2.6.1. Pilot work

A short piece of pilot work was carried out at Covent Garden, London, in March 2012. A circle show performer was recruited to take part. Using a single video camera, a forty-five minute circle show performance was recorded. The aim of this work was: (i) to provide some materials for analysis (with a view to understanding what’s required to transcribe and analyse a street performance), and; (ii) to provide the opportunity to explore some of the practical issues around filming a street performance (e.g., finding and recruiting performers, selecting appropriate recording equipment, working out camera position, etc.). Some of the extracts used in the subsequent analysis come from this pilot work.

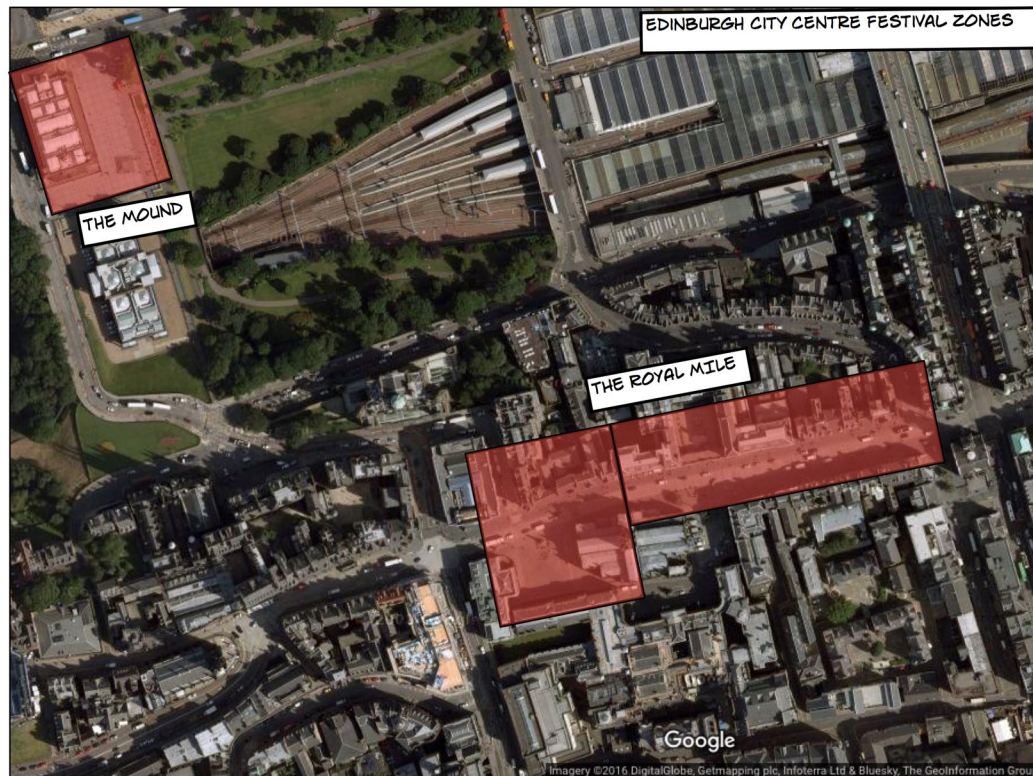
2.6.2. The main study

The substantive fieldwork was conducted over two successive years (2012 and 2013) during, and just before, the Edinburgh Festival Fringe in Edinburgh, Scotland. As mentioned in the introduction, the Fringe is one of the largest arts festivals in the world and annually occurs during August. Street performance is a major Fringe attraction in its own right, with the “Royal Mile” and “the Mound” being transformed into “festival spaces” (see figure 2.1). That popularity is also reflected in the large distances that performers will travel, with some making the annual trip from as far as Australia and New Zealand.

While the analyses focus on the collection of video recordings of street performances, these have been supplemented by ethnographic observation. Street performances perhaps do not occupy the same kind of “specialized forms of human activities” (Heath, 1997, p.190) that are found in, for example, London Underground control rooms (see Heath, Luff, & Svensson, 2002) or hospital anesthesia rooms (see Hindmarsh & Pilnick, 2002); however, I considered it important to gain some preliminary understanding about the way that street performances happen and are organised, before undertaking any video recording. Furthermore, given that I could access street performers who were local to Edinburgh, and performed outside the festival period, undertaking observational work also provided an opportunity to find out which performer(s) might be open to participating in the research. This

observational work provided a crucial first step in recruiting other performers.

Figure 2.1.



The observational work commenced at the beginning of July 2012, mainly based at the circle show pitch on the Royal Mile, Edinburgh (see figure 2.2 below). (At the same time, I was also able to undertake some observation of musical buskers who frequented the Royal Mile. There were no living statue performers.) The circle show pitch was more or less used all year round. During the early period of ethnographic work, I would visit the Royal Mile each day and watch any circle show performances that happened to be on that afternoon. There were three performers regularly using the pitch. Through multiple viewings, I quickly became familiar with the structure and content of each performer's show. (As is the case with other kinds of performance, e.g., stand-up comedy and live music, a street performer's show tended to vary only slightly from one performance to the next. The shows were similarly, though not entirely, structured between performers.) During this period, I was able to generate a set of detailed notes, including performers' methods of attracting passers-by, types of tricks performed, standard jokes, talk about money donations, etc. After a couple of weeks of observation, what was initially "strange" about circle show street performances became "familiar".

The ethnographic observation strand continued for the duration of the Fringe, in the years 2012 and 2013. When I was not video recording, I would spend most days watching performances of all types, across the various different pitches. Sometimes, I watched from within the audience, and at other times I would observe a performance from afar. Interestingly, when stood in the audience, despite my best intentions to adopt a critical lens, I would find myself participating as an audience member. This was particularly the case when watching circle show performances. Sometimes this happened because I was lost in the moment and enjoying the performance. At other times, I felt compelled to participate because I was, for all intents and purposes, *an audience member*. Particularly during the early stages of the observational work, when the performers did not yet know me, my research identity was not visible because it had not been made interactionally relevant (see Schegloff, 1987, 1991, 1997).

Excluding the pilot materials, the first circle show was recorded on the 25th July 2012, just before the beginning of the Fringe. This recording was of a show by the fire juggler and Edinburgh local, Tom. Tom was the first performer recruited. He also recommended a recently arrived performer (from Australia), J-P, as a possible next participant. J-P was a regular performer at the Fringe and was well known to local and international performers. As well as agreeing to take part in the study, he was able to recommend other performers who might be interested. Thereafter, being introduced to other performers became the main method of recruitment. Recruitment for the 2013 festival was undertaken entirely through the Edinburgh Fringe Facebook group, whose members are exclusively performers. A crucial factor for successfully recruiting online was describing the fieldwork completed in 2012, and the performers who had previously taken part in the study.

Before detailing the video materials collected for the analyses featured in chapters 3 - 7, a brief description of the three kinds of street performance examined is in order.

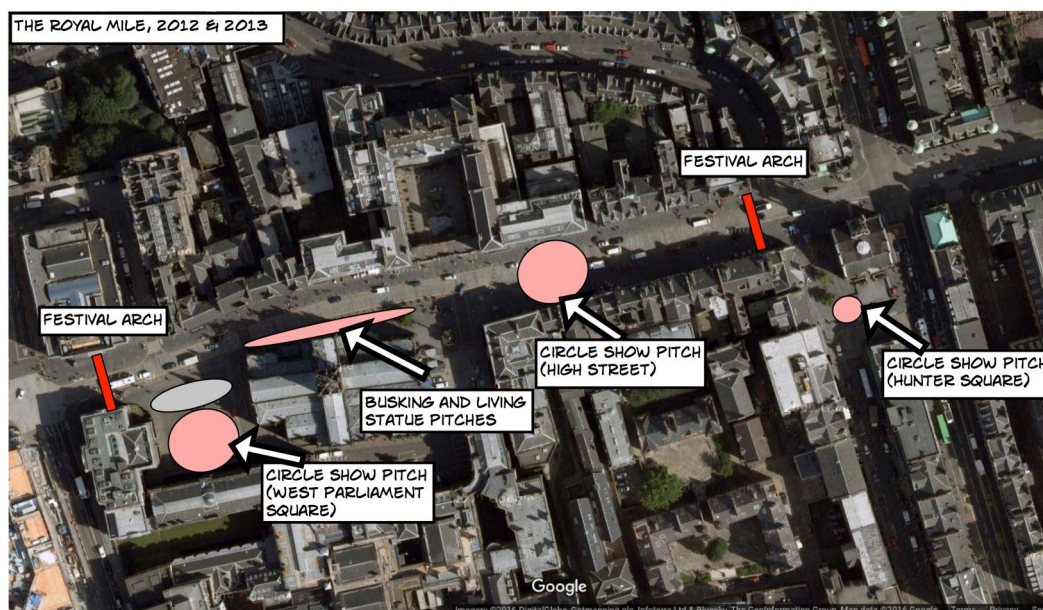
2.6.2.1. Circle show performing

Circle shows usually involve a performer attracting passers-by and building an audience while performing circus tricks and stunts (e.g., juggling, unicycling, tightrope walking, straitjacket escaping, fire eating, sword swallowing, etc.). Toward the end of the show, usually just before a grand finale trick, the audience is asked to make a donation at the end of the show. On completing the finale trick, the performer then invites audience members to come and donate some money into the hat. The name "circle show" derives from the way that the watching audience encircles the performer. Notwithstanding certain nuances, there is little difference in

structure between non-festival and festival circle shows, except that in the former the performer must spend more time building an audience. Also, festival shows are time limited to 45 minutes, whereas non-festival shows can be longer (although they can be subject to certain time limits with respect to the slots organised between the performers at a particular pitch).

During the 2012 festival, circle shows were performed on five pre-designated pitches: “High Street”, “West Parliament Square”, “Hunter Square”, “Mound 1” and “Mound 2” (see figure 2.2). The same pitches were used in 2013, except that the Edinburgh Festival Fringe no longer managed Hunter Square (though it was used by circle show performers). There was a daily allocation of performance times for each pitch. Slots were allocated by pulling names out of a hat (Outside of the Festival, performance slots were informally organised each day between performers). Running over the 45 minutes performance time limit resulted in disqualification from taking part in the draw on the subsequent day. There was, therefore, an economic imperative for good timekeeping. To assist, at each pitch, festival staff would time a performance and hold up cards that marked how much time was remaining.

Figure 2.2.



2.6.2.2. Musical busking

Unsurprisingly, musical busking performances consisted of performing songs and playing instruments in return for donations, which were deposited into a hat on

the ground.

During the 2013 festival, the main busking pitches were at the side of St Giles' Cathedral (on the High Street section of the Royal Mile; see figure 2.2), and on the Mound (the location featured in the collected recordings) (see figure 2.3). Musical buskers, along with living statue performers, attended a separate daily draw. Busking performance slots were thirty minutes. As above, festival staff monitored and assisted with time keeping.

2.6.2.3. Living statue performing

Living statue performances consisted of adopting a pose "in character", in return for donations deposited into a receptacle object on the ground. During the 2012 festival, living statue performers' pitches were located at St Giles' Cathedral as well as at the Mound (the location featured in the collected recording) (see figure 2.4).

Figure 2.3.

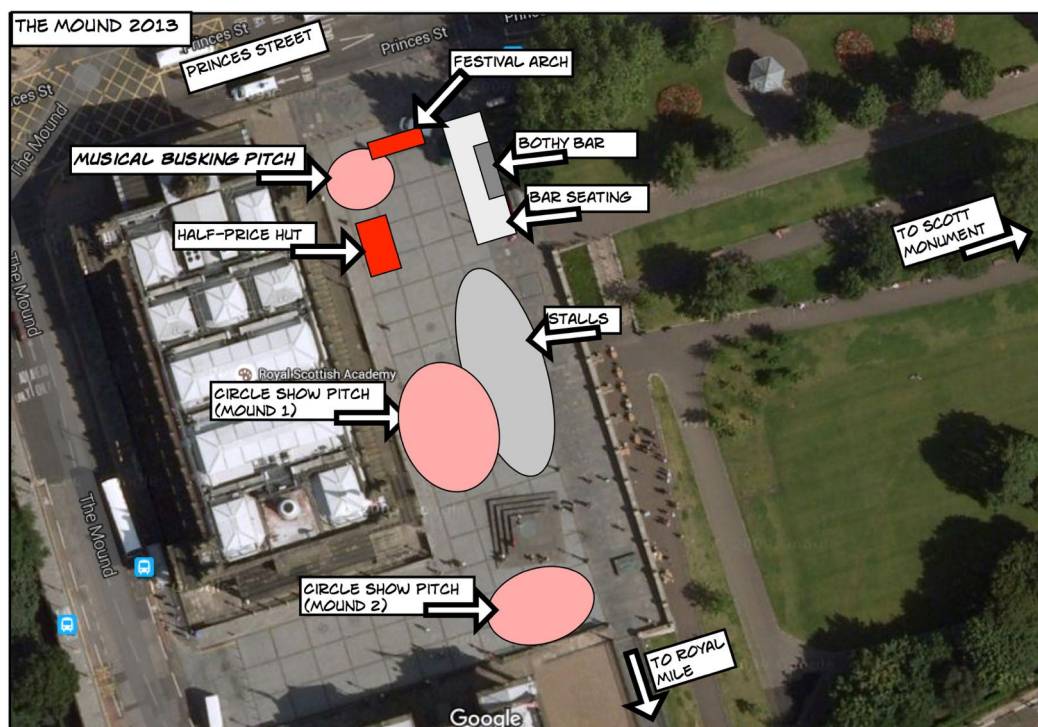
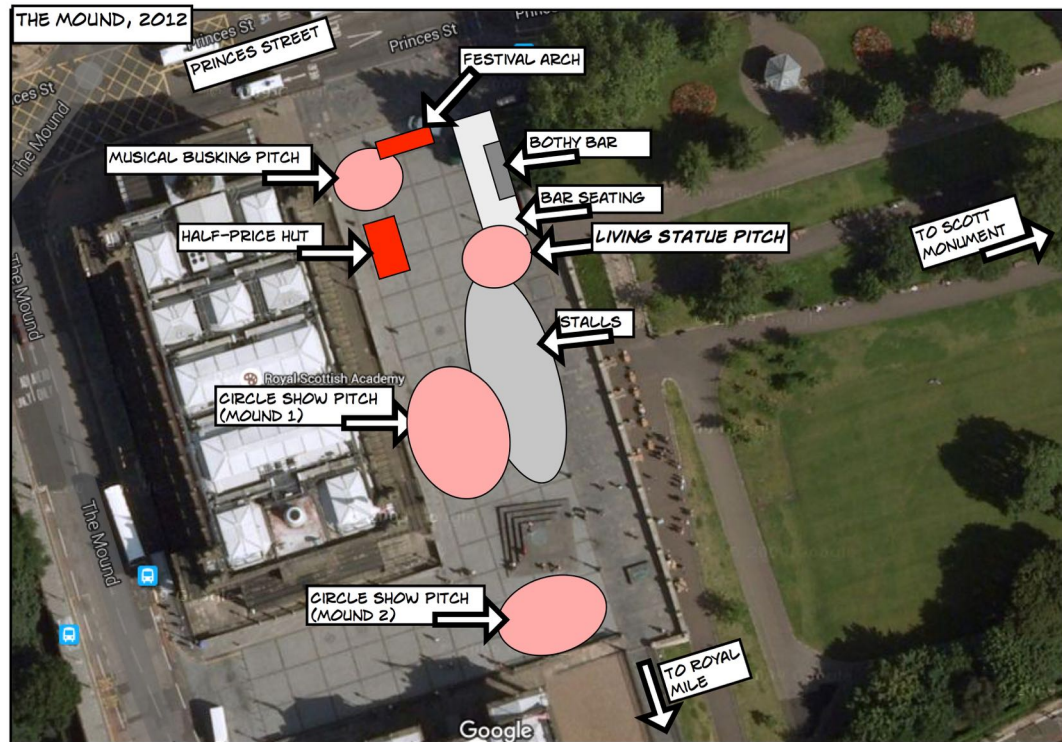


Figure 2.4.



2.7. The materials

A total of 24 recordings were collected, including 21 circle show performance recordings, from 11 performers. A total of 14 shows were filmed during the Fringe; a further 6 were filmed just before the start of the Fringe (the last week of July 2012). The remaining performance, part of the pilot work, was filmed in March 2012. There were 11 shows filmed at the “High Street” (Royal Mile) pitch. The remaining shows are as follows: “Mound 1” (2 shows); “Mound 2” (4 shows); “West Parliament Square” (2 shows); “Hunter Square” (1 show); Covent Garden, London (1 show). One performer’s show was filmed on 7 different occasions; four performers’ shows were each filmed on 2 different occasions; six performers’ shows were filmed on 1 occasion. Each performance was between 30 and 45 minutes in duration. Six of these performances were recorded using two video cameras. One video camera tracked the performer and the other was fixed on the audience. The other circle show performances were filmed using one video camera. Of the remaining 3 shows, a musical busker was recorded on 2 occasions, at the Mound busking pitch (2013). Each show was 30 minutes in duration, and filmed using two cameras; one camera was placed to the rear of the busker and the other at the side. The remaining show was a recording of a living statue performer, at the Mound living statue pitch (2012).

The show was just over 50 minutes long, and recorded using one video camera.

2.8. Transcription

As far as possible, transcripts of the recordings were produced using the Jeffersonian system (Jefferson, 2004b) (see appendix A). In making a conversational analytic transcript, one is interested in capturing not only *what* was said, but *how* it was said (ten Have, 2007 [1999]). For example:

Figure 2.5.

(Extract 6.6. in chapter 6)

```
1      MV:   that's my show (.) >I hope you had an amazing time,<
2          (0.7) thank you [(0.2) this is (.) the<
3      A:          [-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-
4                  |_____(3.0)_____|
5      MV:   <°hold it for one second°] (.) <THIS IS (.) ↑THE: (.) END
6      A:     x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x- ]
7          |_____|
8      A:     [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
9          |_____(8.0)_____|
10          [wwwwwwwwwwwwwwww
11          |_____(5.4)_____|
```

At line 5, the circle show performer asks the audience to “<°hold it for one second°”. In addition to the content of the talk doing a request (i.e., for audience members to withhold their applause), its production is also calibrated to that aim: first, the “left push” (“<”) denotes a “hurried start” (Jefferson, 2004b), and suggests the performer has unexpectedly had to make the request because of the spasmodic applause (beginning at line 3: “-x-x-x-”) (see 2.8.1 below). Second, the degree signs (“°”) denote that “the sounds [between] are softer than the surrounding talk” (Jefferson, 2004b, p.27), and so brackets off that talk from the talk that is doing “announcing the end of the show”. This accomplishes the request as something like a “stage direction”. In summary, the performer quickly responds to a mistimed trickle of audience applause by requesting it be momentarily withheld. The request is produced so that it can be heard as not included in the official part of the show.

2.8.1. Transcribing audience responses

While most of the notation used in figure 2.5 will be familiar to conversation analysts, the notation used to represent audience responses might not. Transcribed audience responses included applause and cheers. Drawing on Atkinson’s (1984a) research on public speaking events, the decision was made to differentiate between “hesitant or spasmodic clapping” (p.21) (-x-x-) and collective applause (XX), and then between soft (xx) and loud (XX). In figure 2.5 above, we see how the spasmodic

clapping is treated as a distinct kind of social action (in this case, problematic) from collective audience applause. Cheers or “woos” were simply represented as soft (ww) and loud (WW). Duration of these responses (in seconds) have been described in the line below the response (for example: |—(1 . 0)—|).

2.8.2. *The graphic transcript*

For many of the extracts that feature in the empirical chapters, talk was not a feature of the phenomenon under investigation. In the musical busking chapter (chapter 3), as we shall see, the first analytic section examines how people accomplished stopping and watching in response to encountering the performance. Eye gaze and organising different segments of the body, not talk, were the primary resources for this work. Similarly, in the living statue chapter (chapter 4), two analytic sections examine encounters in which interaction between the performer and passers-by are almost entirely non-verbal. In the Jeffersonian system, such non-verbal actions are handled by describing them in double parentheses (e.g., “((gazes at busker)))”). The advantage of this method is that the timing of the non-verbal action can be accurately described along with talk. However, the reader of the transcript is considerably restricted in their ability to access the rich visual detail of a setting.

As part of the embodied turn, an increasing number of researchers, who analyse video recordings, now supplement the textual transcript with still frames, tracings and drawings (e.g. Goodwin, 2000; Heath, 1986a; Mondada, 2014). This is done either by directly inserting the images into the transcript relative to their occurrence, or by separately arranging the images and providing a key to show where they occur in the transcript. This provides the reader with the advantage of access to the visual detail, as well as the possibility to check the analyst’s descriptions. Even so, a kind of “dexterous reading” (Laurier, 2014) is often required, moving between text, image and the analyst’s surrounding commentary to piece together what is happening.

As an experimental alternative, Laurier (2014) proposes “poaching comic book grammar” and “hybridising” it with the transcript to develop the “graphic transcript”. Laurier (2014) argues that:

The grammar and form of comic strips offer a number of possibilities for representing speech, gesture, mood, emotion, motion, objects, sound and character. Consequently, they also provide transcribers of video recordings with opportunities for representing those same features. (p.239)

In essence, comics utilise a sequential arrangement of images or panels, separated by gutters. Comic panels, by themselves, provide for a range of analytic possibilities,

such as describing the production of a gesture or showing a change of participant orientation. Within a single panel, speech bubbles can also be used to indicate the talk of a particular speaker. Figure 2.6 describes an interaction between the musical busker featured in chapter 3 and a donator:

Figure 2.6.

(Extract 3.9. in chapter 3)

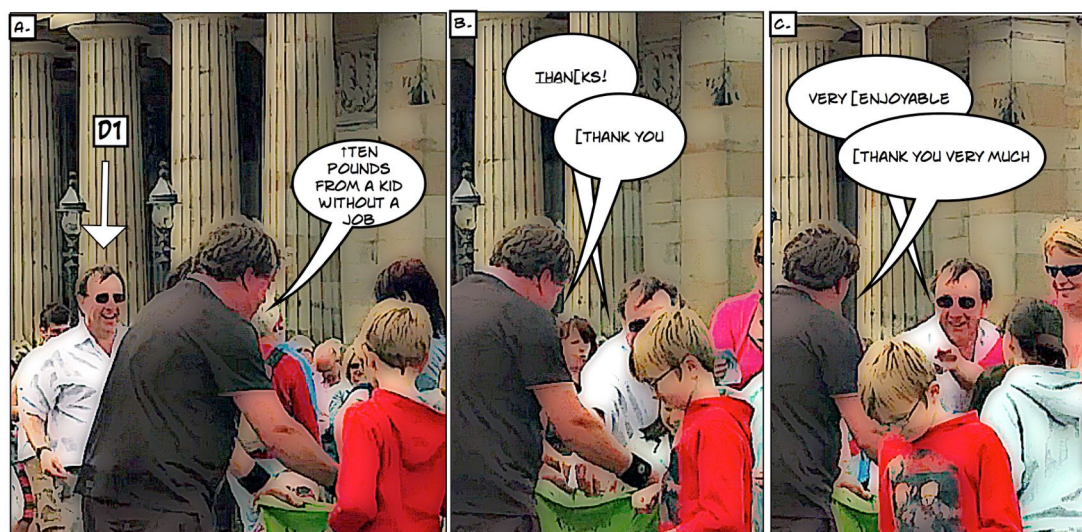


Focusing on (E), the panel illustrates how the busker's expression of appreciation ("thanks") to the withdrawing donator is produced at the point of mutual gaze being established. At the same time, the donator is also producing a "thumbs up", to be seen by the busker. In this panel, we are able to see how a "contextual configuration" (Goodwin, 2000) of talk, gaze, gesture and the local material environment is relevant for the accomplishment of a time critical social action: namely, a busker accepting a donation while performing.

There are some trade-offs, however: recall that a hallmark of the conversation analytic transcript is that it preserves the timing of talk and action in the recording. By contrast, comics "have no fixed metric" (Laurier, 2014, p.240); for example, panels and guttering can be arranged so that time varies from panel to panel. In figure 2.6, without further information, it is not clear how long after searching for coins the donator in (A) begins to approach in (B). Furthermore, time can vary *within* each panel based on the amount of talk within a speech bubble, or even the number of speech bubbles. A further limitation is that overlap cannot be easily represented, but this feature can be preserved where turns at talk are brief:

Figure 2.7.

(Extract 7.22. in chapter 7)



At (B) we see that it is possible to show that the performer's "thank you" overlaps with D1's "thanks!". The image shows how the performer's talk is directed to another audience member (he is gazing at the girl just visible behind the boy in the foreground). We then see in (C) how the performer's subsequent talk ("thank you very much") is now directed to D1, and this overlaps with D1's assessment ("very enjoyable").

It is important to note that Laurier (2014) is not suggesting that graphic transcripts should be used when undertaking analysis. During that stage, the analyst works with the conventional transcript and recordings. Only when the analyst has decided upon the findings to present should they begin to consider how the chosen extracts might be produced as a graphic transcript. This is how the graphic transcripts have been used in this thesis.

In chapters 3 and 4, where the analytic focus is on a sequence of non-verbal action or brief talk between the performer and an audience member/passers-by, I have used the graphic transcript as part of the analysis. In chapters 5, 6, and 7, where much of the analytic focus has been concerned with long sequences of a performer's talk, or with some aspect of the performer's talk, or where showing the precise timing of audience responses is critical to the analytic point being made (particularly chapter 6), I have used either a combination of CA and graphic transcript or the CA transcript on its own.

2.9. Conclusion

This chapter has described the methodological approach used in the

subsequent empirical chapters. It also discussed some of the practical considerations of using video and related ethical issues. A brief overview of the fieldwork has been provided, and some analytic considerations with regard to transcription have been discussed.

Chapter 3

Encounters with a musical busker

3.1. Introduction

Musical busking encounters are an appropriate place to begin an empirical inquiry into the solving of the payment problem because, when compared with the living statue and circle show performers featured in subsequent chapters, the musical busker utilises relatively few interactional resources to generate donations. Thus, the potential to work up a moral obligation to donate is somewhat constrained. Indeed, in the video recordings, the featured musical busker simply played a series of instrumental songs while a hat was placed on the ground. The idea was that people would stop and watch and then go on to deposit a donation into the hat. This is what frequently happened.

Keeping things fairly simple, then, this chapter analyses a series of musical busking encounters with the aim of explicating *just how* the busker generated donations as a feature of those encounters. To that end, the analysis of the video recordings evidence two interrelated observations: first, donations were not randomly given, but were preceded by a person's sustained interest in the busking performance. This most commonly occurred as the accountable activity "stopping and watching", whereby people then participated as audience members. This sequence of activity was the collaborative achievement of the busker's performance and the person's incipient interest in that performance. That interest had to be managed and organised in relation to prior and ongoing projects. Second, donations were witness-ably supportive acts that reciprocated being entertained by the busker's performance—they were produced and recognised in *that way*. To that end, giving and receiving donations were recurrently organised and collaborative achievements between the busker and the donator. This also allowed donations to be given while the performance was ongoing.

The chapter begins with an overview of the relevant literature that has considered what happens when people encounter a musical busker, and how

donations are given and received. A brief outline of the data collected, the featured musical busker, and the local setting then follow. Thereafter, the main part of the chapter is given over to the analyses, which are organised into two parts: (i) how stopping and watching, as an accountable display of participation in the busking performance, was accomplished, and; (ii) how giving a donation was accomplished as a witness-ably supportive action. At the end of analyses a single deviant case will be briefly examined, which consolidates what has been explicated about socially organised practices of stopping, watching and donating in busking performances. At the end of the chapter, some concluding thoughts are offered on what the analyses have contributed, towards furnishing an understanding of how a musical busker solves the payment problem.

3.2. Toward an interactional analysis of musical busking encounters

Previous studies of busking have provided some interesting observations about what happens when people encounter a musical busking performance and what type of considerations bear on stopping, watching and donating (Simpson, 2009, 2010, 2011a; Weingarten, 2007).

Perhaps the most well known is Gene Weingarten's (2007) Pulitzer Prize winning article, "Pearls Before Breakfast...". Weingarten describes the unfolding events in a busking experiment involving violin virtuoso Joshua Bell. Unannounced and wearing casual clothes, Bell performed for nearly 45 minutes at the entrance to a metro station in Washington DC. The experiment, organised by the Washington Post newspaper, was covertly filmed on a video camera. Despite the organisers' expectations of hysteria and huge crowds, few people paid attention to the busking performance. Out of more than a thousand people who passed by, only seven stopped, and Bell made a little more than thirty dollars. In his article, Weingarten considered if the lacklustre response was attributable to what he called "the surge of modern life"—the pressures of modern living that mean we are too busy, in too much of a rush, to notice such rare and extraordinary moments.

As part of a response to criticisms in the news media, that the failure to recognise the brilliance of Bell's performance (demonstrated by so few people stopping and watching) was indicative of cultural dumbing down, Simpson (2009) argued that too much emphasis has been placed on listening—specifically, a "listening to"—that is always interpretive and conscious. According to this conceptual understanding, failing to listen is a failure to interpret. In this regard, Simpson proposes an alternative concept of listening, a "listening with", which emphasises the body's encounter with music, where qualities of "materiality, rhythm and timbre" (Simpson, 2009, p.2571) have the potential to differently

resonate with individuals. How strongly or weakly the music resonates will influence whether or not a person stops and watches, and, one presumes, donates.

Both of the above accounts acknowledge, albeit from slightly different standpoints, how stopping and watching was somewhat constrained and enabled by the prior and ongoing projects of those persons who encountered the busker: Weingarten recognises that a large majority of those persons who passed by Bell were busied with the morning commute. (Indeed, the experiment was deliberately scheduled to occur during the morning rush hour.) Moreover, he provides insight into the practical circumstances of a few of those who stopped and watched: the first person to do so was a commuter who had a few minutes to spare before he needed to arrive at work. Another was not a commuter, but a worker on a coffee break. Given the availability of spare time, both of these persons' interest in the busker could be briefly sustained as part of stopping and watching. The amount of time both persons could spend watching the busker was constrained by the practical necessity of having to return to their prior and ongoing activities (i.e., commuting and working). Similarly, Simpson recognises that how strongly a person's encounter with the music resonated was contingent and, in part, underwritten by their practical circumstances. In respect of the first person to watch Bell, Simpson (2009) says

given that he had three spare minutes (something not all the commuters would have had) and the prospect of an uninteresting day at work . . . the resonance produced with the music that Bell played was able to dilate his body or affect him more strongly (p.2566).

While these accounts point to the relevance of an individual's prior and ongoing projects for stopping and watching, they leave relatively unexamined just how they were organised and accomplished as situated practical activities. In particular, how a passer-by's incipient interest in the performance emerges and how that can result in stopping and watching. Most importantly, these studies do not consider what kind of new accountabilities becoming an audience member constitutes vis-à-vis the busker, and how that can work towards donations being given.

In the busking materials discussed here, stopping and watching were clearly significant moves toward giving a donation, insofar as they constituted a public display of sustained interest in the performance. Indeed, the video recordings show that donations were commonly preceded by a prior period of stopping and watching (though occasions when a donation was not given were overwhelmingly

the norm). Donations were not randomly generated, and that seems to be tied to the particular kind of action that giving a donation accomplished. Busking encounters were unplanned (i.e., watching the performance was not a planned activity and people did not have prior knowledge about the busker), and people were already involved in other activities prior to encountering the busker; for example, walking to other destinations, watching nearby street artists and visiting stalls. The busker, therefore, had to rely on generating incipient interests in the performance that would in turn lead to people stopping and watching, and then hopefully conclude with people giving donations. The first section of analysis will therefore be concerned with analysing how persons, who eventually give donations, organise and manage stopping and watching, and how stopping and watching results in reconfiguration of a person's categorial relation vis-à-vis the busker.

Turning now to the specific activity of giving and receiving donations, Simpson (2010, 2011a) has produced some interesting analyses arising out of his own busking experiences. For Simpson, giving and receiving donations were occasions for positively and negatively affecting him as a busker. He describes the way that the affect generated by a donation was contingent upon a number of things, and not only the sum of the donation. For example, some donations were accompanied by compliments that were uplifting such as "that's for the Gordon Lightfoot" (Simpson, 2010, p.153) and "I really enjoyed your O'Carrolan" (Simpson, 2011a, p.347). Donations could also generate affect in and through the way that they were deposited into the hat; Simpson recounts one particular occasion when what should have been a positive affect generated by substantial donation was undermined by the way "the man threw it into my hat in passing without stopping to pay any attention, and also was walking so quickly that he had passed before I had the chance to thank him" (Simpson, 2010, p.153). The affect this generated for Simpson was: "I felt like I had been given it because I was there, rather than because of what I had done" (p.153). This description points to several interesting things for the analysis in this chapter: first, the way that (not) stopping and watching was recognisable to the busker as a display of (dis)interest in the performance. In this regard, donating and stopping and watching were treated as connected and not separate activities; donating was something one did after having first paid some kind of attention to the performer/performance (and where the absence of the latter constituted the former as done with indifference). Second, the busker anticipated expressing thanks for the donation, but that somewhat depended on the donor making themselves available as a recipient of the thanks. Simpson also reports occasions of what he calls "non-donations" when candidate donors, who appeared

to be searching for coins, would in fact turn out to be searching for something else (e.g., a mobile phone). On such occasions, the initial positive affect generated by anticipating a forthcoming donation was deflated. Here we see how certain actions (e.g., searching a bag) were recognised by the busker as potentially donation implicative.

The recordings of the festival busker captured similar sorts of encounters with donators. When a donator approached the busker to deposit money into the hat, it was common for there to be some face-to-face contact with the busker. Typically this consisted in the busker offering his thanks to the donator. Donators would also sometimes accompany depositing money into the hat with a gesture. Furthermore, there appeared to be a recurrent organisation in the way that donations were given and received. This allowed money to be deposited in a way that was minimally disruptive to the ongoing performance, but nonetheless made it possible for donations to be given during the performance. Donations also typically consisted of token sums of money deposited, but this did not suggest that donators were only minimally valuing the busking performance. Rather, depositing a donation was a witness-able display of support, produced and recognised as a reciprocal response for being entertained by the busking performance. Whereas Simpson is concerned with affect as a product of giving and receiving donations, the analytic interest in donations here is somewhat prior to that; it is an interest first and foremost in how giving and receiving donations are organised and what kinds of social actions are achieved. It remains to be seen how the participants accomplish such matters in situ. This analytic interest shall form the second section of analysis.

3.3. The “data”

Video recordings of two thirty-minute performances were collected during the 2013 Edinburgh Festival Fringe. For both performances the busker was situated at the Mound busking pitch next to the “Half-price Hut” (a kiosk where discounted festival tickets can be purchased), and directly opposite the “Bothy Bar” (with outdoor seating that has been cordoned off by a white fence) (See figure 2.3 in chapter 2, and figure 3.1 below). To the left front side of the pitch is the red Festival Fringe arch, which demarcates the Mound from the adjacent public pavement and Princes St. Both performances occurred in the early evening. It is raining throughout the second performance. On both occasions one video camera was placed directly behind the performer, and one was placed at the side. This set up was chosen so as to capture the general activity of the audience, but also the specific interaction between the busker and donators. A particular advantage of the side camera was the possibility to inspect the gaze of both the busker and donator.

Figure 3.1.



3.4. The busker

The busker's set consisted of playing a series of specially arranged songs on a bass guitar. These mainly comprised instrumental covers of pop songs, but he also played one of his own (the busker did not sing despite some of the original pop songs having lyrics). As well as the bass guitar played through an amplifier, the busker used a combination of FX and loop pedals. The FX pedals enabled the busker to change the sound of the guitar output via the amplifier (for example, to produce a "delay" effect). The loop pedals enabled the busker to play and record sequences of notes that could be repeated, or "looped" back, on top of one another. The busker could also play "live" over the top of these looped sequences, as well as drop out and re-introduce certain sequences. The busker was then able to build up layers of melodies, bass lines, percussive sounds (e.g., by rhythmically tapping the body of the bass guitar), and improvised sections. Each song required considerable skill and concentration to record, loop in and out precisely timed sequences, not to mention the primary task of playing the bass guitar. This added a further layer of complexity to the way that donations were organised within the performance.

3.5. The analyses

As discussed above, the analyses are split into two parts:

- i. Stopping and watching: this section examines how the busker was able to attract people, through generating incipient interests in the performance, to stop and watch and become audience members. Stopping and watching had to be managed in relation to a person's prior and ongoing activities. The

section also examines how stopping and watching was a sequence of action that commonly preceded donations; when a person participated as an audience member their participation was accountable as a sustained interest in the performance—the audience member was positioned in a categorical relationship vis-à-vis the busker.

ii. The organisation of donating: this section examines how giving donations was recurrently organised, and how being entertained was reciprocated by the witness-able act of depositing a donation into the performer's hat. On such occasions donations were constituted as supportive actions.

A final deviant case will then be examined.

3.5.1. Stopping and watching

In contrast with the Bell experiment, the festival busker attracted many people to stop and watch. However, this wasn't because the festival busker was a more accomplished musician (though he was considerably skilled), or even that the songs he performed were especially better choices (though people clearly did recognise and appreciate some of the songs). Rather, the busker was assisted by the contingencies of the setting: he performed on a pitch within a pre-designated festival space that was mostly populated by tourists and festivalgoers. This provided opportunities for the busker to attract potential donating audience members through generating incipient interests in the performance. By contrast, the persons who encountered Bell were mostly commuters on their way to work, and therefore had little flexibility to stop and watch, even if they had wanted to. Tourists tend to keep their plans open so that they can "take advantage of changing circumstances" (Brown & Chalmers, 2003, p.2), where navigation is often loosely organised around heading toward a "particular area" rather than a "specific attraction" (Brown, 2007, p.375). Nevertheless, the tourists and festivalgoers discussed below were still faced with the practical task of becoming audience members through stopping and watching, relative to whatever else they were doing at the time.

In terms of analysing this organisational work, we can draw on the complementary work of Kendon (1990a) and Schegloff (1998). Both authors have provided some important observations around how involvement in individual and multiple courses of action are enabled and constrained through the organisation of the body, as well as how that selfsame organisation makes accountable to co-present others (and us as analysts) what actions a person is involved with and how they are prioritised.

Kendon (1990a) says that the body can be thought of as organised into

segments (head, shoulders, torso, legs and feet), where the “orientational limitations” of the upper segments are defined by the orientation of the lower segments. For example, the range of possibilities of what the head can attend to in the environment depends on the configuration of all other lower segments. Kendon (1990a), therefore, says that a change in the orientation of the lower segments of the body have “longer term implications for change in attention than changes in the orientation of upper-body segments” (p.249). This is significant because “the hierarchy of priorities and longer and shorter term commitments in the organization of the individual’s attention is directly perceivable by the way in which the various segments of the body are oriented” (p.249). Thus, in co-present interaction, a recipient’s gaze away from the speaker is not necessarily treated as terminal and can be routinely re-secured (Goodwin, 1981; Kendon, 1967); whereas, walking away from the joint interactional space is likely to be treated as problematic for continuing an interaction (Llewellyn & Butler, 2011).

Building on this work, Schegloff (1998) explores the interactional consequence of “divergent orientations of the body sectors above and below the neck and waist” (p.536). This is what he refers to as “body torque”, and it is produced when an individual is engaged in more than one activity that requires attentional demands in different parts of the environment; for example, when someone reading a book turns to talk to a person sat adjacent to them. Following Kendon (1990a), Schegloff says that engagement in these different activities and the relative prioritisation are observable. So, in the just mentioned example, the recipient can see that the speaker is also reading a book because the lower segments of the body remain organised for that activity. They can also observe that reading remains the main involvement and the conversation is the subordinate involvement; the turning of the head projects postural instability and its resolution through returning to the “home position” (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002) for the reading activity. To make the conversation the main involvement would entail a more extensive reconfiguration of the body so that the legs and torso are re-oriented toward the other person. This would also provide for the head no longer having to be turned (or to the same degree) to gaze at the other person.

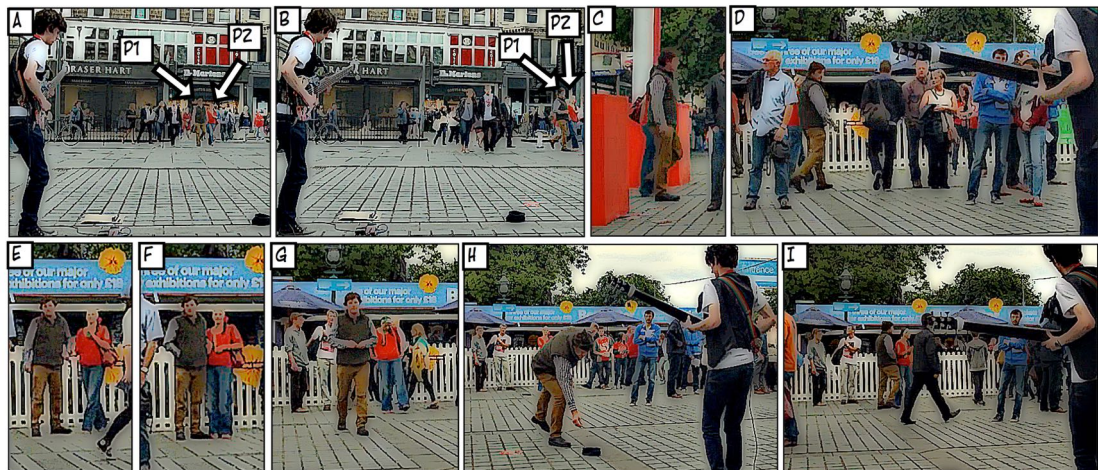
In the same way, by examining the organisation of the different segments of a person’s body, we can analyse how stopping and watching was managed in relation to the busker’s performance and what other involvements were being pursued at the time.

The first two extracts describe occasions when a person is walking across the area in front of the busking pitch and then evidently begins to display an interest in

the busking performance. This occurs through gazing at the performer. Significantly, there is a period of time when the individual is gazing at the busker, but they continue with their journey across the front of the pitch. This produces a body torque, as the lower part of the body remains organised around the main (walking) involvement while the most upper part (gaze/head) constitutes a subordinate involvement.

In extract 3.1, P1 (wearing fawn trousers) is first visible on camera as he crosses nearby Princes Street (A) with his companion, P2 (wearing a red jumper). At (A) he gazes in the general direction of the busking pitch, before retuning his gaze to his direction of travel (B). P1 then walks through the festival arch (C) and across the space just in front of the busker's pitch. At this stage, then, though it appears that P1 has noticed the busking performance, he does not appear to have any sustained interest in it.

Extract 3.1.



At (D), P1 can now be clearly seen gazing at the busker. What has attracted his attention? Recall that at (A) P1 gazes at the busker, and he appears to have seen him. The gaze at (D), therefore, doesn't seem to be generated through a sudden discovery that a busker is playing. Rather, it is more likely that it is generated by *what* the busker is playing at that particular moment: when P1 passes through the arch the busker finishes a short sequence of notes played in repetition and then moves into a faster and intricate sequence. It could be that this second sequence conveys a hearably higher level of skill and competency of playing, such that P1 is now interested to see and hear what the busker will play next.

P1's gaze at the busker constitutes a new, and subordinate, involvement—an

interest in the busker. Note that it is competitive with P1's main walking involvement and produces a body torque. This competitiveness is heightened because of P1's pace of walk; P1 is walking at a "standard pace" (Lee & Watson, 1993), which is similarly adopted by other persons who are moving through the local space in order to get somewhere else. The pace of walk means that P1 only has a short amount of time, from when he first begins to gaze at the busker, that the torque can be sustained: this is set by range of movement of his neck that allows him to simultaneously look over his shoulder.

Resolving the torque can be done in two ways: P1 can *realign* his head with the rest of his body. Alternatively, he can *align* his lower body so that it is oriented toward the busker. These actions are not equivalent: the former would effectively close the "looking" involvement and the interest in the busker while the latter would constitute a reorganisation of the involvements such that looking becomes the main involvement. The latter is what in fact happens.

P1 takes three steps, as he looks over his shoulder at the busker. On the third step the busker finishes the intricate section of playing, which first elicited P1's gaze, and segues into the main melody. He does this by playing a low, stretched, note by sliding his fret hand along the bass string, down the entire length of the neck toward the head of the bass guitar. At this point, P1 stops walking and pulls on the arm of P2 to also have her stop (E). P1 briefly realigns his head with the rest of his body and then proceeds to rotate—from head to toe—toward the busker. Along with stopping, this has the effect of suspending the prior main walking involvement while stabilising "looking" so that it now becomes "watching". P1 also positions himself and his companion out of the way of the flow of pedestrian traffic coming through the arch; he steps sideward and backwards toward the white fence (F). In this watching position he places his hands inside his jacket pockets.

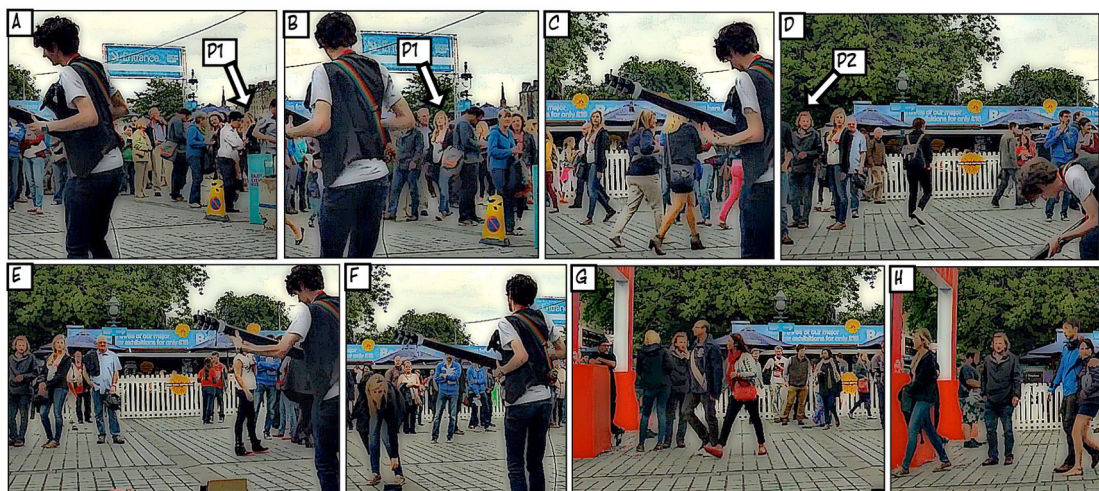
P1's accomplishment of "stopping and watching" does something interesting in terms of his visible category incumbency; previously a *passer-by*, he is now recognisably an *audience member*; he and P2 are positioned vis-à-vis busker—they are observably watching the busker. Thus, they are now producing themselves as "participants" in the busking performance (see Goodwin, 1984; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Goodwin, 2006). However, perhaps we can see here how "audience member" doesn't entirely capture P1 and P2's commitment to the performance: they more or less watch from the back of the pitch, approximately four or five feet behind two couples who make up the "front row". In this way, we might see them as perhaps more transient audience members. As it turns out, both of the front row couples watch for longer.

P1 and P2 watch for less than one minute, and then P1 approaches the hat (G) and donates (H). He then returns to P2 and they watch for another twenty-seconds or so before walking away. This is achieved by both of them turning their entire bodies back toward the original direction of travel—across the Mound. This accomplishes a return to the prior main walking involvement, but also a withdrawal from participating as audience members watching the busker.

In this extract, then, we see how an interest in the busking performance emerged and how that interest, initially a subordinate involvement, was subsequently selected as the main involvement through a reorganisation of the different segments of the body. Consequently, P1's walking project was suspended while he watched the busker. This accomplishes the passer-by becoming an audience member.

In the next extract, a similar occasion of stopping and watching occurs. However, on this occasion P1 is able to gaze at the busker for a relatively extended period of time, as she walks across the front of the performance pitch. P1 gazes at the busker as she navigates (with P2) through a crowd of people who are queuing for tickets at the nearby Half-price Hut (A). Before she is obscured from the camera by the busker, P1 gazes at the busker for 4.0 seconds. As she comes back into view, her gaze has returned to the direction of travel (for approximately 4.0 seconds) and then is redirected back to the busker (B and C). Just after this, the busker plays the final note of the song.

Extract 3.2.



As before, simultaneously gazing at the busker while continuing to walk produces a body torque, with the same assigning of involvement priorities.

However, in contrast to extract 3.1, P1 in this extract is walking at a much slower, “ambling” pace. Following Thomas (2008), this is arguably a pace of walk that embodies an openness to new experiences, where walking is “an end in itself” (Morris in Thomas, 2008, p.5) and not only as a means to travel from A to B as efficiently as possible.

During the five or so seconds that the final note of the song is sustained, P1 takes five paces that are slower than her ambling pace. This has the consequence of further extending the amount of time that she can gaze at the busker, and therefore prolonging the body torque (which is momentarily released as she glances toward the pedestrian traffic ahead). When the busker runs his hand down the neck of the bass guitar to silence the final note, P1 takes a small step forward and then comes to a stop (D). On this occasion P2 has also slowed his pace of walk, though walking slightly in front of P1. P2 coordinates stopping with P1, taking a small step forward after P1’s final step.

Unlike extract 3.1, P1 and P2 do not fully position themselves so that they face toward the busker. P1, in particular, holds her body in torque, with the lower part of her body facing in the direction of travel while continuing to gaze at the busker. The reasons for this could be that it is not clear if the busker is going to play another song, because he might have reached the end of his performance, or that if he does continue playing it might not be something that interests P1 and P2. Indeed, when the busker does start playing another song, P1 and P2 hold these positions for another 7.0 seconds. As it happens, the busker’s performance continues to hold P1’s interest because she makes a small stabilising adjustment to her posture, by bending her right knee and bringing her hands together to rest on her bag (E). After a further 26.0 seconds, P1 rotates her torso and legs toward the busker (not shown), thereby fully displaying her participation, as an audience member, in watching the busker. This resolves the body torque.

Following another 20.0 seconds, P1 searches her bag for a donation. Once a donation is located she deposits the money into the hat (F) and then withdraws from watching. Note that when she returns from the hat to P2, she does not return to her previous watching position, but stands the other side of P2 (G)—the direction toward which they were previously walking. P1 does not resume her prior participation as an audience member. P1 then begins walking away, with P2 in tow (H).

To summarise so far, in extracts 3.1 and 3.2, we see that both P1s display an incipient interest in the busker and the performance through “looking”, which is then transformed into “participating”. In each case, the incipient interest produces a

competing involvement with the main involvement of walking through the performance area. This produces a body torque that is then resolved through stabilising “looking”, by coming to a stop and repositioning the body vis-à-vis the busker.

In the next extract, and the last example of a donation encounter arising from someone who was passing by, P1 walks across the back of the performance area with P2. On this occasion, P1 does not gaze at the busker before he stops and watches.

At (A) we see P1 gazing in the same direction that he is walking. Just as he passes behind the man wearing the white top with blue stripes (to the right of P1 in (A)), P1 gestures toward the busker’s pitch with his hand while looking at P2 (not shown here). Although the recording does not pick up what he says, he clearly is telling P2 that he is going to watch the busker because he turns his body toward the performance pitch (B). This involves a complete rotation of the body, from head to toe. P1 then takes six steps toward the busking pitch and comes to stop. He stabilises his stance by slightly outstretching his left leg (C). As before, the comportment and orientation of his body makes observable his participation as an audience member watching the busking performance.

Extract 3.3



At this point it is relevant to mention that P2 continues to walk and joins the queue at the Half-price hut. P1 and P2 had presumably come together to purchase festival tickets. Thus, it appears that rather than queue with P2, P1 has decided instead to watch the busker. Note that the recording shows several occasions when people were watching the busker because they apparently had some time to fill

(because a person, or persons, were waiting for a bus, or a show to start, or to go to work). Unlike extracts 3.1 and 3.2, P1 does not display an incipient interest in the busker or the performance (at least, visible on camera) and thus watching does not get produced as a competing involvement to walking to the ticket hut—there is no body torque. Here we can see that P1 instead entirely replaces walking with watching.

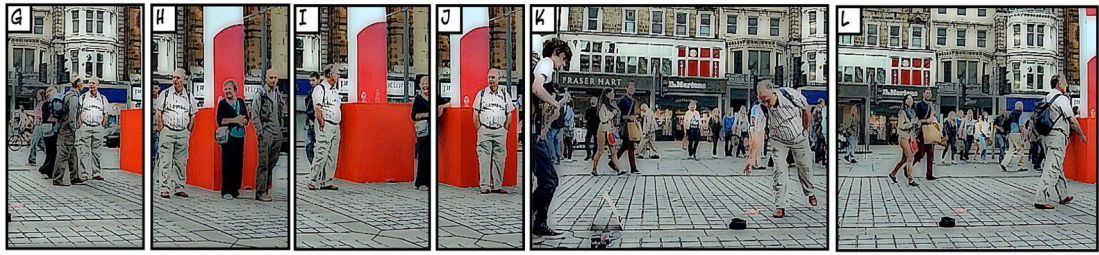
After watching for more than four minutes, P2 returns and P1 donates (D - E). After depositing the coins into the hat, P1 does not walk back to his watching position; he begins walking toward the festival arch (F). P1 thus withdraws his participation as an audience member. Note that P1 watches for a relatively long period of time, when compared with the P1s in extracts 3.1 (one minute twenty-six seconds) and 3.2 (two minutes ten seconds). While watching in those extracts was organised around a specific interest in the performer and what he was playing (at the very least in relation to stopping and watching, but also probably around withdrawing when they had watched/listened to enough), in the current extract stopping, watching, donating and departing are organised around P2 purchasing tickets and not an interest in the performance *per se*.

Nevertheless, common to all three examples is that in and through stopping and watching each passer-by visibly constitutes their participation in the performance. Stopping and watching is in response to the busking performance. We can also note that none of the passers-by orient to the performance as something that has to be paid for before they can stop and watch. In each case the performance is treated as something that is freely available to each P1, and their interest in the performance emerged as they were busy with other things.

Moving on to another example, donation encounters were also generated when a person was able to watch and listen to the busker from somewhere nearby, and then position themselves vis-à-vis the busker at the performance pitch.

Extract 3.4.





At (A), P1 (who is with 3 companions) is watching a street artist. At the same time, the busker is setting up his equipment to begin the performance. “Setting up” is an intelligible activity that can be recognised as a kind of announcement that something is about to happen (see Gardair, 2013). Indeed, this activity piques P1’s interest, and he gazes at the busker (B). Again, this “looking” constitutes another subordinate involvement, and through turning his head produces a body torque.

When the busker begins to play the opening to his arrangement of The Who song, “Baba O’Riley”, P1 positions his torso and legs to face the busker (C). This constitutes a significant upgrade of P1’s interest in the busker. Indeed, he has resolved the body torque by withdrawing his involvement in the street artist and making watching the busker his main involvement. At this moment, however, P1 is not participating as an audience member; he has not positioned himself vis-à-vis the busker at the performance pitch.

P1 watches for just over two minutes in the same position, though with some further adjustment to face the busker. P1 then walks away from the street artist and along the edge of the performance pitch (D). This is not done alone, as his three companions accompany him. What follows is interesting: P1, after a number of steps, positions himself on the edge of the performance pitch (E); he plants both feet so that they face the busker. At the same time he gazes at his companions. This seems to be part of monitoring whether or not they are orienting to him taking up a position to watch the busker and will also become audience members. As it happens, his companions do not collaborate with him and they continue walking. In response P1 takes a backward step with his right foot and places it behind his left (F). He then takes another side step with his left leg, and then swings his right foot and places it so that it aligns with the direction of walk of his companions. At this point, P1 has returned to the joint walking involvement with his companions. However, P1 once again gazes at the busker, and thus displays an ongoing interest in the performance. Clearly, his companions are not aligned with him on this because one does not look at all and the other two briefly gaze at the busker before looking ahead. Despite this, P1 makes another attempt to stop and watch the busker;

again he plants his feet so that they face toward the busking pitch (G). This is clearly seen by the male companion because he walks past P1 and then turns around to face the busker. The female companion who remains visible on camera also turns around. At the same time the male companion continues to move away from the busker, and P1 takes a step to his left (H). P1 then watches for 13.0 seconds while both the male and female companion move further away (I). P1 takes another series of steps and stops just in front of one of the pillars of the festival arch (J). This time P1 does not move. As P1 continues to watch the busker the three companions stand together approximately four feet away. P1 watches by himself for another 20.0 seconds and then gives a donation (K). He then withdraws from watching as he rejoins his companions and walks away.

In this extract, P1's incipient interest in watching the busker emerges while he is already engaged in watching the nearby street artist. When subsequently walking across the busker's pitch, the problem for P1 was not so much deciding whether or not to stop and watch versus continue walking, but whether his companions would also stop and watch.

In extract 3.5, P1 walks across the front of the busking pitch with P2 (A). This also happens whilst the busker is finishing setting up.

Extract 3.5.



P1 does not appear to notice the busker while he walks over to the Half-price hut with P2 (B). Shortly after the busker begins to play "Baba O'Riley", P1 walks away from the hut and positions himself on the edge of the performance pitch (C). P2 subsequently joins him. By positioning his lower body vis-à-vis the busker, P1 makes participating as an audience member his main involvement. However, note that P1 is also reading information from a mobile phone (D), which he shows to P2

(E). Although we cannot know what information is being shared on the phone, it is likely related to their visit to the Half-price hut, perhaps information about a particular show. P1 subsequently hands the phone to P2, who reads from the screen. P1 then folds his arms and becomes fully involved in watching the busker (F). After watching for over two minutes, P1 deposits a donation into the hat (G). P1 does not return to his watching position, but rejoins P2 in the Half-price hut queue (H).

As we observed in extract 3.4, P1's interest in the busker was first piqued when he was busied with another activity nearby (in this case preparing to purchase half-price festival tickets). On this occasion, P1 appears to be ongoingly involved with that prior activity after walking over to the busking pitch (where watching the busker is made to be the main involvement and reading from the smartphone is made to be the subordinate involvement). Consider that although P1 could have continued watching and listening to the performance from the Half-price hut, he in fact positions himself at the performance pitch. The difference is that in doing the latter he participates as an audience member.

Last in this section, the recordings also show occasions when donations were given from persons who had not stopped, watched and participated as audience members, but had plainly been listening to/watching the performance from somewhere nearby. Indeed, it was only through giving a donation that the fact the person had been listening to/watching the performance was observable at all.

In extract 3.6, the performer is playing his arrangement of "Get Lucky" by Daft Punk. As the song progresses, the performer moves into two particularly fast and intricate sequences of playing. In both recordings, these sections of the song generated passer-by and audience responses of amazement and interest. When the performer moves into the second section of intricate playing—a sequence of two-handed "finger tapping"—P1, who is sat at a table near the "Bothy bar", begins to approach the busker (A). She walks around the white fence separating the bar from the performance area and then takes a head on approach to the busker (B-C). P1 then donates (D). As she withdraws (E), she takes a photograph of the busker on her phone and then returns to the seating area.

Extract 3.6.



P1 is able to incorporate listening to/watching the busker while sitting at the bar seating area. As such, watching/listening to the busker does not become the main involvement—P1 never participates as an audience member. Therefore, this extract evidences how the busker was also able to capitalise on the fact that people could listen to/watch the busker as a subordinate involvement while still being engaged in some other ongoing activity, which could nonetheless result in donations being given.

This first section has examined a collection of extracts for how an interest in the busking performance emerged and how that resulted in stopping and watching. This mostly had to be organised around a number of prior and ongoing involvements. In extracts 3.1-3.2 an incipient interest in the busking performance was constituted as a competitive involvement to the project of walking across the Mound. Each P1 was walking to somewhere and watching the busker was orthogonal to that ongoing project. Thus, a body torque was produced and resolved when stopping and watching the busker was selected as the main involvement. In extract 3.3 stopping and watching was selected as a main involvement in the place of waiting in a queue at the Half-price hut. In extracts 3.4-3.5 an incipient interest in the busker arose while undertaking another nearby activity. Watching the busker was subsequently selected as the main involvement. Last, extract 3.6 evidenced that persons could take an interest in the busking performance, and subsequently give a donation, without necessarily stopping, watching and participating as an audience member. Watching/listening could be done as a subordinate involvement while still busied with another involvement.

In extracts 3.1-3.5, the activities of stopping and watching achieved a

categorial repositioning of people from passers-by who might have had a passing—subordinate—interest in the performance to having a sustained interest as audience members. As an audience member, a person was observably someone being entertained by the busker's performance. As such, when a person walked away, as we observed in extracts 3.1-3.5, this constituted a withdrawal of their interest and participation. Significantly, this occurred while the performance was still ongoing.

With the exception of 3.6, the extracts above evidence that the busker was able to generate interest in his performance that resulted in people stopping, watching and then giving a donation. The performance was performed for everyone in general, but nobody in particular. This was a powerful way for the performer to maximise attracting potential audience members. Though, as we have seen, this still required passers-by to reorganise their existing projects. The performance was freely available to be listened and watched by anyone in the surrounding area—the busker did not explicitly ask for anything in return, and there was no penalty for walking away without donating.

While stopping and watching constituted participation in the busking performance, it nonetheless was ambiguous insofar as “just what” a person made of it. Donations, therefore, offered the possibility for audience members to both show their support for the busking performance, to take a stance, but also to do so in light of proceeding to walk away. In this way, donating was produced and recognised as a reciprocal response to the performance. That is, the busker and his donators did not treat donations as spontaneous, or indeed as being given for some other reason (e.g., as charity for the homeless). The following section now attends to the specific donation activity in each of the extracts above and considers how they were constituted as supportive actions.

3.5.2. The organisation of donating

Consider how the donation is given in the following extract (P1 in extract 3.1)

Extract 3.7.





P1 searches for a donation while stood watching the busker (A). He then retrieves a coin as he begins to approach the busker. This “pre-selection” of money, which demonstrably orients to a future action, closely resembles the way that customers prepare to hand over payment at the bar counter once their order has been processed (see Richardson, 2014). Here, the future action is that money is deposited immediately on arrival at the hat. Having money ready to deposit avoids the potential situation of fumbling to find a donation in view of the busker and everyone else. It could be embarrassing to arrive at the hat and discover that one has no money. As it happens, the amount P1 chooses seems to be a nominal sum—a single coin.

When P1 is at a distance of four paces from the hat, mutual eye contact is established with the busker (B). Recognising that P1 is approaching to deposit a donation, the busker thanks him (C) and smiles. P1 acknowledges his thanks by responding with a single nod of the head. Here, P1 and the busker have established between themselves that what is happening is an incoming donation, and not, for example, someone coming to ask the busker for directions, or something else. Note that the busker monitors the donation being deposited into the hat (D) and then provides another “thanks” as P1 withdraws (E). In this regard, the recordings show that it was common for eye contact to be established in this post-donation position and for the performer to express his thanks. Note also that P1 does not linger at the hat, but immediately withdraws.

Last, consider that when P1 donates he does not, for example, wait until the song has finished—the performer is still performing the song that first attracted P1 to stop and watch. In this regard, P1 is able to see the ongoing relevance of giving donations through watching other audience members donate, but also through seeing the hat on the ground, which functions as receptacle for donations to be collected. This allows P1 to donate and then withdraw from participating and to return the prior walking activity (as described earlier).

This extract evidences a number of organisational features that, as we shall see, are common to giving and receiving donations in the video recordings: first,

money is pre-selected and usually comprises a nominal sum—a coin or two; second, the donator only begins approaching when they have selected a donation; third, the donation is deposited as soon as the donator arrives at the hat; fourth, brief mutual eye contact is established just before or after money is deposited and then the busker thanks the donator; fifth, the donator does not linger at the hat, but immediately withdraws. Sixth, the donator does not wait for the end of a song or the end of the performance to donate.

Now considering a little further the brief interaction between the busker and donator, conversation analytic research has found that appreciation tokens such as “thanks” and “thank you” are responses commonly found in supportive social action environments (Pomerantz, 1978; Shaw & Kitzinger, 2012). Compliments, for example, can be accepted through these kinds of appreciation tokens (Pomerantz, 1978). Pomerantz (1978) identifies other supportive actions including “offers, invitations, gifts, [and] praise” (p.82). These all share the common organisational feature that on their occurrence they make relevant either acceptance or rejection as candidate responses (Pomerantz, 1978). Compliments carry an additional complexity because they can also be treated as positive assessments, which make relevant agreement/disagreement responses. As Pomerantz (1984) has shown elsewhere, a second assessment can be used to do agreement with a first assessment. In compliment environments, where the compliment recipient is the subject of the positive assessment, the “preference organisation” (see Clayman, 2002; Davidson, 1984; Pomerantz, 1984) for agreement interacts with a constraint of the norm for avoiding self-praise (Pomerantz, 1978). As such, appreciation tokens can be used to accept a compliment as a supportive action while avoiding agreement that would be doing self-praise. Pomerantz (1978) says

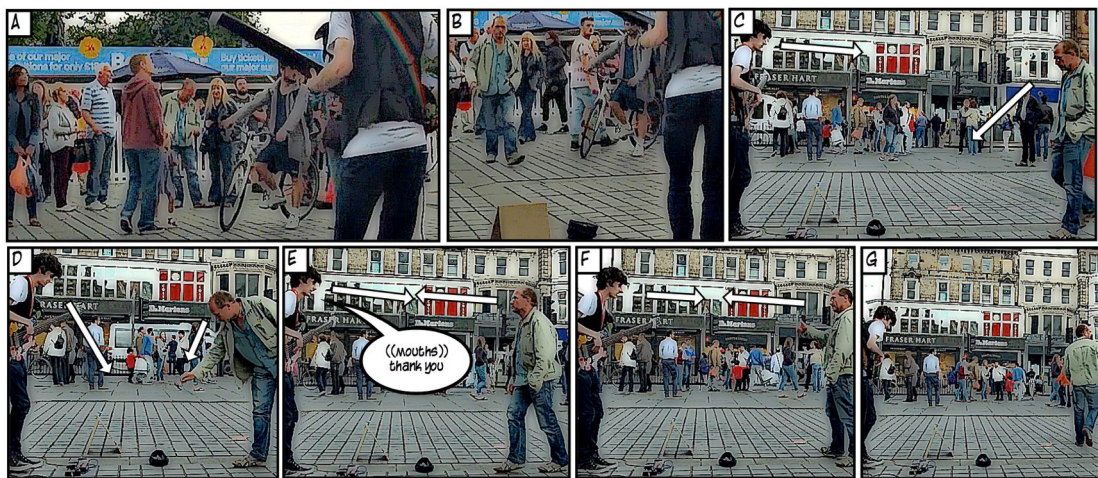
a feature of an appreciation token [such as “thanks”] is that it recognizes the status of the prior as a compliment without being semantically fitted to the specifics of that compliment. That is, it does not itself contain a focus upon the referent of the compliment. (p.83)

In the interaction between the busker and the donator, we might similarly consider that the busker’s “thank you” (C) and “thanks” (E) accomplish a similar thing, insofar as with these appreciation tokens the busker accepts the donation as a supportive action; that is, in relation to the performance. This achieves something else too, insofar as the money donation does not get produced and recognised as an assessment, and so how much the donator donates is not treated as an interactionally relevant matter, or indeed an evaluation of the performer’s

performance (where a nominal donation might then be seen as a weaker show of support than a larger donation). As we shall also see, donations could be accompanied by gestures that elaborated the action as supportive.

Returning now to some further examples, in extract 3.8, P1 similarly pre-selects a donation and begins to approach the hat. Recall that in extract 3.3 P1 had stopped and watched the busker while P2 visited the Half-price hut. Also recall that the donation was coordinated around P2's return. Again, this indicates how P1 orients to the ongoing possibility for the busker to receive donations during the performance.

Extract 3.8.



The busker notices P1 approaching, as he briefly glances at him. The busker then glances a second time, when P1 is one pace away from the hat (C). The busker's gaze then shifts to the hat and monitors the money being deposited (D). As P1 begins to withdraw, mutual gaze is established and the performer expresses his thanks to P1 ("thank you"). Again, this constructs the donation as supportive (E). On this occasion, P1 responds with a "thumbs up" gesture (F). This provides an additional show of support and approval in relation to the just deposited donation. P1 then withdraws.

Almost the exact same sequence of actions occurs in extract 3.9 (P1 from extract 3.5):

Extract 3.9.



It is perhaps relevant to note that the busker's collection hat had not been placed on the ground when P1 first stopped to watch—the busker had forgotten to take it out of his bag. When the hat was placed on the ground it attracted P1's gaze. Not long after, he began to search his pockets for a donation. After some brief chat with P2, P1 retrieves a small coin purse from his pocket and pre-selects a coin or two (A). He then begins his approach (B). The busker glances at him when he is a single pace away from the hat. The busker then monitors the donation as it is deposited into the hat (C-D). Mutual eye contact is subsequently established and the busker thanks the donator (E). At same time, P1 produces a “thumbs up” gesture, before withdrawing to join his companion in the ticket queue (see extract 3.5).

In the next extract, despite not having previously stopped and watched, the donator (P1 in extract 3.6, who had been listening while at the bar seating area) nonetheless recurrently organises giving a donation.

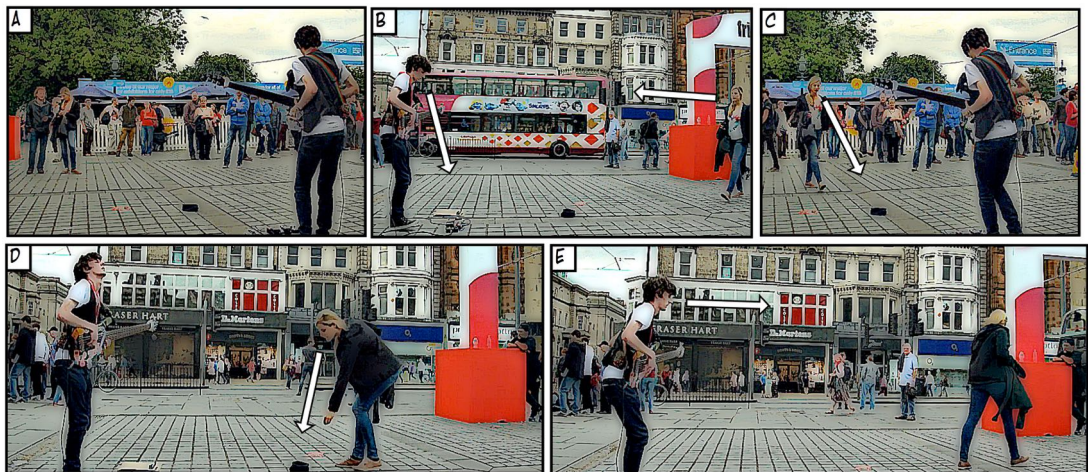
As P1 approaches, she is clearly holding a donation in her left hand (A), and therefore has pre-selected a donation while at the bar seating area. As in extract 3.7, mutual gaze is established before the donation is deposited and before the donator arrives at the hat. The busker then expresses thanks, this time mouthing “thank you” (C). Again, this evidences how the busker recognises that a donation is about to happen. This is followed by P1 depositing the money into the hat and then walking away.

Extract 3.10.



Last, extracts 3.11 and 3.12 demonstrate that the busker did not always express thanks to his donators. This was usually because when a donator gazed at the busker, as they approached, the busker was recognisably busy with performing, or “in the moment”:

Extract 3.11.



Extract 3.12.



In extract 3.11, P1 (P1 in 3.2) searches her bag and purse and pre-selects a donation (A). As soon as the money is retrieved, P1 begins her approach to the hat. She gazes at the busker not long after beginning her approach, but on this occasion the performer is looking down toward the ground, or perhaps the bass guitar (B). P1's gaze is then redirected to the hat throughout the rest of her approach and during the donation (C - D). As P1 donates, the busker has closed his eyes and tilted back his head (D). The busker only appears to notice P1 and gaze at her when she is walking away (E).

In extract 3.12, P1 (P1 in 3.4) pre-selects a donation and begins his approach (A). He gazes at the busker for two paces (B), before re-directing his gaze down toward the hat. At the same time, the busker has his eyes closed and again appears to be concentrating, as he plays an intricate sequence of notes. Just as P1 begins leaning in toward the hat, the busker gazes at him (C). As we have seen in extracts 3.7 - 3.10, through gaze, the busker monitors the donation being deposited into the hat (D). On this occasion, the donator does not gaze at the busker following donation and so mutual eye contact is not established, despite the busker gazing at him (E). P1 then withdraws and walks away (F).

From these last two extracts we learn that the busker and donator have to collaboratively establish mutual eye contact in order for there to be an exchange of a donation and "thanks". As Goffman (1963) first noted, eye contact is a critical first move in establishing co-presence and the possibility of further interaction (see also Goodwin, 1981). Moreover, as we have seen in extracts 3.7 - 3.10, there was a narrow window of opportunity, immediately before and after the donation was deposited into the hat, for mutual eye contact to be established.

In this section I have provided a close examination of the organisation of donating sequences and described an order of organisation donors and the busker recurrently and concertedly produce. Donors pre-selected donations (typically nominal sums of money), approached the hat, deposited the money and then withdrew. The busker monitored approaching donors and provided eye contact either in a pre-donation or post-donation position. This cleared the way for responding to the donation with appreciation tokens such as “thanks” and “thank you”. This recurrent order of organisation is oriented toward providing the opportunity for individuals to show their support to the busker during the performance, by giving a donation, and in return for the busker to accept the donation and show his appreciation.

Plainly, when giving token sums of money donors were not valuing the performance in terms of a low price. For example, by giving a one-pound coin a donor was not saying “I value your show at one pound”. “Equivalence” (Gouldner, 1960) was not being established through the amount of money given. Rather, giving a donation was a resource with which to make witness-able the donor’s support for the performance—the physical action of depositing a coin into the hat enabled an individual audience member to be seen by the busker. It was a means to reciprocate. Thus, the physical money media—cash—was significant here. Such face-to-face interaction would not have been required with, for example, an electronic transfer of a donation. Giving a donation would not be made witness-able in the same way.

The examples also evidence how the hat is central to the way the money donations were organised. The constant availability of the hat, by virtue of it being placed on the ground, provided an ongoing possibility for audience members and passers-by to give donations. We saw how donors oriented to the possibility of donating while the busker was performing. This meant that donors did not have to wait around until the end of the performance to donate. In the previous section we saw how stopping and watching was organised around pre-existing projects; donors usually watched for relatively short periods of time, which might be only for a small section of a song.

This affordance of the hat—by providing a constant place where donations could be collected and stored—also meant that the donations did not have to be transferred hand-to-hand between the donor and the busker. It meant that multiple donations could be collected, and the busker did not have to attend to the hat until the end of the performance. The busker could continue to attend to the business of the performance, though he still had to monitor and deal with incoming

donations. Donators also appeared to have no difficulty in recognising that the hat was the place where money donations should be deposited.

3.5.3. A deviant case

The final extract below describes the only occasion in the recordings when the busker received a “non-trivial” donation, i.e., a single donation that was more than a couple of coins. On this occasion, P1 gave the busker a ten-pound note.

Extract 3.13.



At the beginning of the graphic transcript, we see that P1 gazes in the general direction of the busker (A), as he crosses Princes Street. P1 then returns his gaze toward his direction of travel (B). He walks through the arch, following the flow of pedestrians in front of him (C). P1 then gazes at the busker for the duration of a single step (D). He then goes to take another step with his left foot, but considerably restricts it, bringing his foot back so that it is only just in front of his right foot. P1 then initiates a change of direction, and begins approaching the busker. The sudden change of direction, preceded by gazing at the busker, does resemble the way that P1 stopped and watched the busker in extract 3.1; however, on this occasion P1 does not stop and watch, but proceeds to approach the busker to give a donation.

Already, then, we see how the organisation of P1's interest in the busker is quite different to that discussed in extracts 3.1 - 3.5; P1's interest in the busker does not result in stopping and watching (where an incipient interest is followed by further sustained interest in and through watching). Though note that P1, nevertheless, has to organise suspending his prior walking project to give a donation.

As he approaches the busker, P1 can be clearly seen searching his jeans pockets for money (E). He only locates and retrieves his wallet when he arrives at the busker's position (F). In extracts 3.7-3.12 each respective donator had pre-selected a donation prior to beginning their approach. Furthermore, in those extracts each donator deposited money into the performer's hat on arrival and immediately withdrew. This does not happen here. Instead, P1 walks past the hat and stops near the performer. He then begins talk to the busker while retrieving a ten-pound note from his wallet. This is a "non-trivial" sum when compared with the one or two coins given by each donator in extracts 3.7 - 3.12, and seems disproportionate considering P1 displayed almost no prior interest in the performance.

While P1 might simply be a generous person, consider alternatively that he makes point of drawing attention to the "how much" of what is donated—he shows the note to the busker immediately before depositing it into the hat (unbelievably, he also moves the busker's hat to just in front of the pedals—the busker cannot fail to miss it now!) (G & H). The busker responds with the appreciative "WOW thanks" and then "Hey thank you very much" (not shown here), which appropriately treats the donation as an especially supportive and generous action. Consider that in the previous examples, the "how much" of giving a donation was not part of the recurrent organisation—to draw attention to a small donation risks being seen as making too much of too little, and invites attribution of ulterior motives.

Approximately 20.0 seconds pass before P1 places the donation into the hat. Remarkably, P1 is not discouraged from engaging the busker in conversation even though the latter is in the midst of a song. Of course, another way of looking at this is that the busker does not stop playing for this person (where he might do for a festival official or a police officer). After donating, further talk occurs for another 50.0 seconds before P1 finally leaves (with farewell introductions and a handshake) (I).

3.6. Conclusion

This first empirical chapter has examined a series of musical busking encounters, with a specific interest in how the busker's performance generated incipient interests in the performance and how stopping and watching was accomplished, whereby the activity had to be managed and organised around a person's prior and ongoing activities. It also examined how giving donations were organised, and how they were accomplished as supportive actions.

The chapter has shown how the busker, through the performance, was able to generate interest in further watching/listening with persons who were busied in other activities. The performance was performed for everyone in general but

nobody in particular, in order to maximise the amount of people that could potentially stop and watch. In this way, the performance was freely given to anyone who encountered the busker, with no explicit request for donations made. An incipient interest in the performance could lead to stopping and watching, which in turn could lead to a donation. However, stopping and watching still had to be organised and accomplished around existing projects. Through the organisation of the body, passers-by categorially repositioned themselves vis-à-vis the busker, to become accountable as participants in the performance. As such, walking away constituted a withdrawal of participation, which happened while the performance was still ongoing. Giving a donation was, therefore, a resource for making witnessable support for the performance and countered the “disaffiliativeness” of walking away. Thus, becoming an audience member was to enter into a moral relation with the busker; it was to be observably in receipt of something freely given, and thus it was in some sense to be indebted to the busker. Giving a donation, while only a token amount, was a resource for showing support—of acknowledging the performance—by physically depositing cash money into the hat. It was for audience members alone to find the salience of giving a donation, which was discoverable through recognising that hat on the ground was a place where donations could be deposited, or by seeing other people give donations.

Chapter 4

Encounters with a “creepy mermaid” living statue

4.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses a number of social interactions between a living statue performer—who assumes the character of a self-described “creepy mermaid”—and passers-by, with the aim of explicating *just how* they end with money donations being deposited into the statue performer’s hat—a decorative collection box. This chapter shall attend to the ways that the performer designs her actions toward eliciting money donations from passers-by, and the way that passers-by attend to the interactional relevancy of reciprocating through giving money donations.

The thing that makes these encounters particularly interesting to examine next is that the featured performer possessed a greater repertoire of interactional resources than the music busker with which to pursue donations. The video recordings show that, built into the performance, the performer used a combination of novel appearance and stylised gestures (but no talk) to attract the attention of passers-by. This work generated two kinds of organisationally distinct encounters. These were “ludic” and “posing for a photograph” encounters. Both kinds of encounter were designed to encourage passers-by to deposit nominal sums of money into the collection box. With the ludic encounters, the encouragement to donate was generated by producing and recognising an orientation to targeted passers-by as the recipients of something received from the statue performer. In the second case, this organisation was inverted, with passers-by giving money donations to the performer before posing for a photograph.

Before analysing a series of examples from both kinds of encounter, the chapter begins with a brief overview of the living statue as a genre of street performance. This is in respect of the more obscure position that living statues seem to occupy in the empirical studies of street performance. I will propose that a starting point for investigating the sequential relationship between the performer’s work and passers-by giving money donations can be Lavender’s (2013) gloss of the

statue performance as “something-for-something”. The analyses will then investigate how that works interactionally around the practical orientation to gift giving and reciprocity. As will have become clear from the previous chapter, and will be evident in the subsequent chapters, all street performance might be loosely characterised in this way. Nevertheless, it’s a useful starting characterisation of the statue performance interactions. The overview will then be followed by a short description of the data, the setting and the performer’s routine. The subsequent analyses are split in two, according to the kinds of interaction mentioned above. This is followed by some concluding thoughts on how the analyses have contributed new understanding about the way that the living statue performer generates donations in pursuit of solving the payment problem. As was the case in the previous chapter, the analyses focus on the themes of gift/reciprocity, money/value, and materiality/the hat.

4.2. Analysing living statue encounters

As an art form, the living statue performance has featured in a surprisingly diverse range of literary and performance art settings. For example, Lavender (2013) points to the Medieval and Renaissance *tableaux vivant* or “living picture”, in which a well-known event was constructed by actors frozen in position. The idea was that the scenes created could be “readable” at a glance (Lavender, 2013). Living statues known as *pose plastique* were also a popular form of entertainment in early Twentieth Century music halls—“La Milo” perhaps being the most famous (Huxley, 2013). By recreating the poses struck by figures in classical art, the *pose plastique* was a popular way for male audiences to indulge in eroticised pleasure under the spectacle of watching “high art”. Lavender (2013) also points out that living statues have featured as characters in well known stories such as in Ovid’s Pygmalion and, more recently, as formidable adversaries (“the weeping angels”) in the television sci-fi drama Dr. Who. The longstanding cultural appeal perhaps explains why living statue performances continue to be a popular and enduring form of street performance.

Indeed, living statue performers can be found on city streets around the world. The general idea is that wearing a costume, make-up and with the aid of a few props, the performer assumes a relatively fixed pose, as well as perhaps producing a few stylised gestures, in return for money donations from passers-by. The donations are usually deposited into some kind of collection receptacle, which is placed immediately in front of the performer. Compared with the prior examined busking performances and the to be examined circle show performances, living statue performances are muted affairs. As Lavender (2013) says, “[a living statue

performance] renounces the usual reaching-out of street performance. It has none of the élan of the juggler, the magician or the daredevil" (p.19). A living statue performance is usually performed entirely in silence or with a few sound effects; the statue performer neither plays music nor talks to audience members and passers-by (in contrast, to different degrees, to circle show performers and musical buskers). Living statue performances also are not "boundary marked" (Carlin, 2014; see chapter 6). That is, they do not have a clear beginning or ending (see also Simpson, 2010, p.71). In this regard, they share more of a family resemblance to musical busking performances than they do to circle show performances. (With that said, musical busking performances do feature boundary markers *within* the performance, in the form of the clear beginning and endings of songs; see chapter 3.)

Living statues come in a variety of styles. Characters include those that mimic commemorative statues commonly found in city centres, with the performer often frozen in a stylised pose. For example, at the Fringe Festival one statue performer sat on a bench with an imitation seagull perched on his head (for added realism, the seagull appeared to have deposited its droppings on the statue's head). Varying on this form slightly, other performers choose characters such as a "Steampunk lady" or a "Mediaeval knight". Many of these statue performers will remain frozen until a donation is deposited into the hat, and then produce a short distinct movement in response. Part of the delight for passers-by encountering these kinds of performances is the discovery that what at first appeared to be a statue is in fact something else (a living person). While this kind of living statue performance is not the subject of the analyses in this chapter, we could tentatively suggest these encounters might generate something like the kind of mundane "At first I thought X, but then Y" occasions, which have been previously discussed by Jefferson (2004a, pp.140-145). There are also statue performers who adopt the guise of characters from popular culture. For example, at the Fringe Festival there was a performer who dressed as the Star Wars film character, "Yoda", and another (somewhat disconcertingly) as the "Predator" character from the eponymously titled 1980s film, starring Arnold Schwarzenegger. These types of performers set out to generate passer-by interest by sheer recognisability of their characters. For added novelty, the Yoda character also appeared to defy gravity and levitate above the ground, with only his walking stick touching the pavement (the stick was in fact a metal rod that was attached both to a plate on the ground and to a concealed plate supporting the performer). This effect was a fairly common trick used by performers. Another kind of statue performer, the kind featured in this chapter, is one that actively tries to engage passers-by into stopping, watching and donating. Lavender (2013)

accurately summarises this kind of performance when he says:

There is rather less statue performance here and a good deal more interaction with the passing spectators, calling and gesturing...The performance here is not so much of statuesque virtuosity, more of an age-old *something-for-something*, the staple of street performance, for which the statue form is simply a vehicle. (p.125, emphasis added)

The characterisation of “something-for-something” is apposite. The video recording, from which the analyses below are drawn, evidences how the living statue’s methods for solving the payment problem relied on eliciting money donations in and through the performance itself. That is, the whole performance was organised around ongoingly generating possibilities for passers-by to deposit money into the collection box. One of the ways this was done was to search for candidate passers-by and then attempt to engage them in some brief playful, or ludic, interaction. Plainly, the idea was that a money donation constituted one half of the pair, but *just what* was the prior “something” that the living statue gave to passers-by? Moreover, how were the two things related? How did a particular playful action performed by the mermaid make a donation relevant in return? What does that look like interactionally? How did passers-by recognise and orient to the playful “something” received from the statue performer? To answer these questions requires an examination of how such actions are sequentially organised. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, this was not the only way that the statue performer generated donations: a second kind of “something-for-something” interaction can be characterised as when passers-by would give a donation in return for posing for a photograph with the statue performer. What accounts for why the donation was generally given as the first “something”? How did the performer recognise that a photograph was the something that was being pursued in return? Again, the analytic task is to inquire just how posing for a photograph was oriented to as an action that made giving a donation relevant, by attending to the sequential organisation of the interactions. These two kinds of performer-passer-by interactions are the focus of the analyses below.

Therefore, the analyses in this chapter shall be the first to provide a fine-grain examination of the sequential organisation of interactions between a living statue performer and passers-by. The primary aim is to account for how the living statue performer solves the payment problem, given that the relevancy and preference for passers-by to give money donations remains an implicit and unspoken matter.

4.3. The “data”

A video recording of just over fifty minutes of a single performance was

collected. The performance was captured on a video camera placed to the left side of the living statue pitch. During the festival, this pitch was specifically designated for living statues. It was situated on the Mound—an open public space area. More specifically, the pitch was located adjacent to the Royal Scottish Academy (see figure 2.4, chapter 2). At festival time, the Mound also hosts two circle show pitches, a number of market stalls, balloon stands, ice cream vans and a bar with outdoor seating (The bar at the 2012 Fringe, the year this recording was made, is situated to the rear of the living statue pitch). During the rest of the year, musical buskers sporadically use the Mound, but circle show and living statue street performances are rare. The living statue pitch was located at a confluence of pedestrian traffic flows (see figure 4.1). These flows were generated from three main entrance/exits to the Mound: Princes St. (the main shopping street), the Scott Monument and toward the Royal Mile. As Figure 4.1 below illustrates, the Mound at festival time is bustling with people.

4.4. The creepy mermaid

Assuming the character of a self-described “creepy mermaid”, the performer wore a fishtail costume with gold paint make-up applied to her face, arms and upper body. She also had strikingly long hair that had been woven into “dreadlocks”. Throughout the performance, the performer sat atop a large treasure chest. The “hat”—a money collection box—was decorated as a bejeweled treasure box, and placed near the end of the performer’s fishtail. Except for the box, and much like the musical busker, there were no other clues that indicated the living statue performer was collecting donations from passers-by. Again, there was no information about how much money should be given or when money should be given. These were matters for passers-by to discover.

Throughout the performance, the performer did not remain frozen in a single pose, but utilised a number of stylised “creepy” gestures in pursuit of attracting the interest of passers-by. These gestures also served a “double duty” (see Carlin, 2014) insofar as they were used to interact directly with a targeted passer-by, but others could also witness them; thus, they could be used to pique the attention of nearby passers-by (for example, to stop and watch, or simply watch as they walked).

Figure 4.1.



4.5. The analyses

As briefly outlined above, the analyses are organised around the two main kinds of interactions that occasioned money donations from passers-by:

- i. *Ludic encounters*: this section examines the mermaid's playful interactions with passers-by. In return for interactionally giving them something, such as a tender kiss on the hand or a "scare", the living statue performer worked to have passers-by reciprocate by giving money donations. When a donation was given, it was deposited toward the end of the interaction, just prior to the passer-by walking away.
- ii. *Posing for a photograph*: this section examines a second set of interactions, when passers-by would pose with the mermaid for a photograph in return for depositing a donation into the collection box. Typically, passers-by would deposit a donation prior to posing for the photograph. Two examples are also examined when donations were given subsequent to the photograph being taken.

4.5.1. *Ludic encounters*

The main purpose of these encounters was to engage a candidate passer-by in some brief focused interaction (Goffman, 1963), and who would then reciprocate with a money donation. The idea was that donations could be interactionally generated. As the statue described, by giving the passer-by a scare, a laugh, or gesture of tenderness, the passer-by would recognise these as receiving "something". The interesting thing about these sorts of interactions, and contrasting with both the busking and circle show encounters, was that the performer targeted the participation of specific individuals. Furthermore, the statue performer was

confronted with a similar practical problem as the busker, insofar as how passers-by would recognise that the performance was working toward a donation as a relevant way of reciprocating. Therefore, how such an order of organisation of interaction *was* produced and recognised is the subject of the analysis that follows.

Generally speaking, the first move of the routine consisted in attracting the attention of a passer-by. To that end, the mermaid deliberately made her appearance striking (e.g., gold body paint, fish-tail costume and props), in order to stand out from the otherwise mundane surroundings of casually dressed passers-by and street furniture. The goal here was to generate “noticings” or, in Sudnow’s (1972) words, “focused looks”. In conversation analytic terms, we might say that the mermaid’s appearance was purposefully designed as a “summons” first pair part, which should be answered by a passer-by’s second pair part shift of gaze (Schegloff, 1968). Remarkably, the video recording shows that the performer’s summonses were frequently answered by passers-by. However, many passers-by also displayed an understanding that the performer’s visual appearance was designed for this purpose—to attract their gaze that would in turn clear the way for further interaction; thus, passers-by would frequently withhold looking until they had walked past the front of the performance pitch and were no longer a likely target for the mermaid, or they looked away to avoid establishing mutual gaze. This kind of attention to the accountability of gaze in public spaces has been noted elsewhere (Haddington et al., 2012; Lan Hing Ting, Voilmy, Büscher, & Hemment, 2013).

Despite passers-by turning to gaze at the performer, the performer tended to pursue interest from only a few subcategories of passers-by: typically, these were young children walking as part of a family groups, female teenage friends walking together and, occasionally, groups of older adults. On finding one of these passers-by gazing at her (when scanning the local scene), the performer proceeded to solicit further interaction by reciprocating gaze and using a small repertoire of gestures. These included a “creepy finger” greeting, which consisted of the individual waggling of fingers; an “open hand” gesture, which reached out to the passer-by; and a “beckoning finger” gesture. If a passer-by had stopped to watch, the mermaid would blow them a kiss or give them a tender kiss on the hand or, alternatively, a “scare”. If and when it became clear that the target was not receptive to interacting with the performer, the performer would quickly begin searching for another candidate passer-by.

Llewellyn and Burrow (2008) describe similar occasions of producing and recognising displays of “withdrawing attention” in their study of Big Issue vendor sales pitches to passers-by. With that said, the Big Issue vendor’s verbal sales pitches

(e.g., “Hello the Big Issue guy?”) explicitly made relevant acceptance or declination in response (withdrawing attention was a recognisable second pair part declination to the first pair part sales pitch). The mermaid performer occasionally did achieve something similar, in response to the “open hand” and “beckoning finger” gestures. While they were not sales pitches, they were explicitly requesting further interaction for the passer-by to stop and watch. As requests, the gestures made relevant a second part acceptance or declination. In these instances, withdrawing attention *was* similarly recognisable as declination. For example, on one occasion the passer-by, in response to an “open hand” gesture, smiled at the mermaid but continued walking. When the mermaid subsequently produced the “beckoning finger” gesture, the passer-by continued walking but shook her head while producing a bigger smile. Although twice declining the mermaid’s request, this passer-by nevertheless oriented to her declinations as disaffiliative (see Clayman, 2002; Davidson, 1984; Pomerantz, 1984) in the way that her dispreferred responses were built with (affiliative) smiles. It is also worth noting that while the mermaid would, in such circumstances, work quickly to select another passer-by through withdrawing her gaze and the gesture (e.g., by retracting the hand and arm), these movements were never done suddenly or inelegantly; they were always done slowly so as to maintain the performative framing of a “creepy mermaid”.

4.5.1.1. A first example

Turning now to an example, extract 4.1 below evidences an occasion when the mermaid living statue performer pursues interaction with P1 (a young girl), who is holding P2’s hand as they both walk across the Mound. (Given this walking arrangement, we might tentatively suggest that P2 is P1’s mother, or at the very least a family member. As we shall see in the transcript, the girl confirms this assumption.) On this occasion, the mermaid does not elicit any money donations from the passers-by.

At (A), the mermaid is not interacting with anyone, but searching for potential candidate targets. By the time that P1 and P2 are visible on camera, P1 is gazing at the mermaid and vice versa (B). Plainly, P1 has noticed the mermaid and finds her appearance interesting. The mermaid has in turn recognised P1’s interest because we see at (C) that the mermaid produces a “creepy finger wave”, which is reciprocated by P1 with a wave of her own. At this point, then, we can see how the mermaid has attracted the gaze of P1, and then used that as a platform on which to build further interaction.

Extract 4.1.



There is some payoff for this work because P1 then goes on to share her noticing with P2 (D and E); specifically, P1 summons the attention of P2 (“MUMMY”) and then instructs her to attend to something in the local scene (“(look)”) (This also suggests that P1 presumes P2 has not already noticed the mermaid). P1 provides help as to *just what* might be thing to look at by returning her gaze to the mermaid, as well as producing a pointing gesture (partially obscured by a passer-by walking between P1 and the camera). P2 has neither trouble finding the thing of interest, nor *just why* it has piqued P1’s interest: P2’s response includes the surprise token “↑ oh ↑ wow” (line 5), which appropriately aligns and affiliates with P1 having pointed out something in the scene as unexpected and delightful (see Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006). Note also that by selecting the category “mermaid” P2 also displays her understanding of the thing noticed in particular, i.e., the mermaid character (and not in general that there is a street performer, a woman, etc.).

At the same time as she produces her utterances, P2 stops walking and partially turns toward the mermaid (E). The lower half of her body is positioned at an approximately 100° angle away from the mermaid, and her head at an approximately 45° angle (F). Thus, P2 displays an attenuated involvement both in

terms of intensity and duration (Kendon, 1990a). When P2 stops walking, this also has the consequence of bringing P1 to a halt. P2's head and body alignment is almost exactly replicated by P1. At this point, then, the mermaid is in the position where a candidate recipient for a ludic encounter has noticed her, exchanged a greeting, enjoined another (P2) to take an interest, and then P1 and P2 have suspended their joint project of walking across the Mound.

Building on this display of interest, the mermaid produces another gesture. This time she extends her arm, and presents her hand in a slightly clawed position, as though reaching out to P1 (F). Unlike the "open hand" or "beckoning finger" gestures, which are both doing requesting and make sequentially relevant acceptance or declination responses, how one might respond to this gesture is perhaps not immediately clear. We see that, in response, P2 opens her mouth slightly while smiling—as though she is amazed by what she sees (F). P1 and P2 then begin to walk away. We then see that P2 then looks at P1 and produces a second look of amazement (G)—P2 shows P1 that she has similarly understood the discovery of the mermaid as something amazing and interesting, and thus affiliates with P1. Before they walk out of view of the camera, P1 displays continued interest in the mermaid for a further 10 seconds (H).

Taking the above into consideration, I suggest that the mermaid's gesture achieves a sense of creepiness insofar she is "reaching out" to touch P1, only she cannot because she is too far away and she (the mermaid) is immobile. P2's first open-mouthed smile response (F) treats the mermaid's gesture as *playful*. The response also acknowledges herself and P1 as recipients. In this way the mermaid has "given" something to the pair—a creepy and playful moment of interaction. Of course, P1 or P2 do not reciprocate with a money donation, but instead walk away.

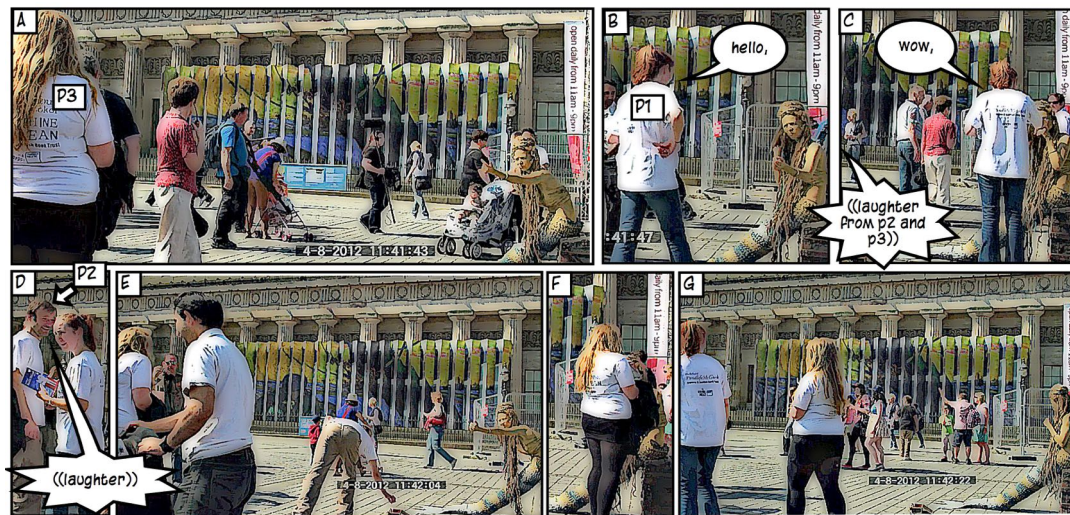
There is a degree of ambiguity around how interaction with the mermaid can be treated: one possibility, as evidenced here, is to treat the interaction as appropriately playful without any relevance of money donation (even if P2 knew that that was probably being pursued)—the mermaid's gestures do not explicitly topicalise money donations (and one can note the same about the just examined busking encounters). However, as we shall see in the next section, some passers-by did find the relevance of giving a donation following playful interaction with the mermaid. I shall now provide three examples which evidence the *that* and *how* of passers-by orienting to this relationship.

4.5.1.2. Eliciting a donation

In extract 4.2, P1, P2 and P3 have been stood (just to the left of the camera) for approximately 10 seconds before the mermaid notices them (A). This already

suggests that the mermaid has managed to attract interest by virtue of her appearance. It also suggests that P1-3, having positioned themselves as audience members (and thus as participants—see chapter 3), display a certain openness to interaction. When they are noticed, the mermaid immediately produces a beckoning finger gesture, and P1 complies by approaching the mermaid (also possibly greeting her with “hello”) (B). When P1 arrives, the mermaid reveals her fanged teeth and proceeds to give P1 a kiss on the top of the hand (P1 can also be heard to say “wow” as the mermaid takes her hand) (C). When P1 returns to her companions, P2 and P3, there is a brief conversation (not audible) and some laughter (D). As in extract 4.1, we see the group collaboratively treating the encounter as playful. (Note that a kiss on the hand could be made sense of in other problematic, category bound, ways (Sacks, 1972b)—e.g. as inappropriate when from a “stranger”). P2 then proceeds to deposit a donation into the collection box (E).

Extract 4.2.



Interestingly, although P2 is not in view of the camera when P1 returns, when P2 does come into view he has already retrieved some money to deposit and is holding it in his hand (D). This suggests that, prior to P1 returning to the group, P2 had already recognised that a money donation should (and could) be given. While P2 is depositing the donation, the mermaid beckons P3. P3 complies and similarly receives a kiss on her hand. P1, P2 and P3 then share another round of laughter before walking away.

The donation deposited is no more than a couple coins. As we saw in the busking encounters, the significance of this is not as an index of the how the statue performance has been valued, but that it is a witness-able show of support of the

performer's project. Despite already having the coins in his hand, and therefore being in a position to donate, P2 approaches only once P1 has returned. This does two things: first, it ensures that the statue performer will witness the money being deposited into the collection box—the position of the collection box enables donating to be a highly visible activity. Second, it allows donating to be done in the second position of the sequence (the interaction with P1 is the adjacently positioned first). In this way, the donation is produced as a reciprocal response to the mermaid's playful interaction. No further donation is deposited after P3 visits the mermaid, but this is likely because the donation already deposited has been given on behalf of the whole group (and not just P2). That is, the donation is given on behalf of this particular "with" (i.e., three companions) (Goffman, 1971).

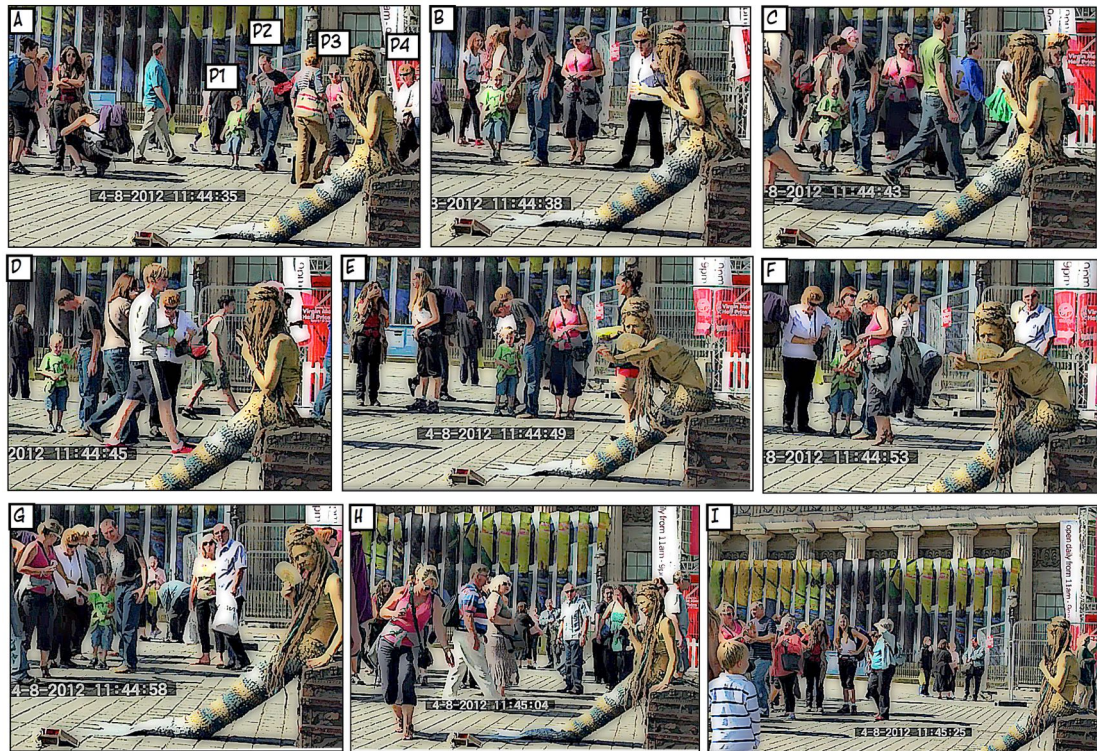
Note also that, as in the busking examples, the collection box provides an open-ended possibility to deposit donations. Though as we shall see, in these kinds of playful interactions the donation is deposited in a sequentially adjacent position. This accountably establishes the donation as a reciprocal action (There was a certain time-criticalness for giving a donation if it was to be produced as witness-ably in response to something received from the statue performer and not for the performance in general, which also occurred).

So far, then, we have seen that the mermaid's project of having playful interactions with passers-by can produce two distinct outcomes: the first, as occurs in extract 4.1, is that after briefly stopping passers-by resume their joint project of walking across the Mound and without donating. The second, as occurs in extract 4.2, is that a passer-by deposits a money donation at the sequentially adjacent position following a first action—a companion's receipt of a kiss on their hand. The kiss is freely given by the statue performer and doesn't explicitly topicalise a donation. Nevertheless, through the sequentially adjacent position, the donation activity exhibits an orientation to the kiss as something given that makes relevant a reciprocal response. Although nominal donation sums were given, the point was that depositing a donation at the adjacently next position was witness-able as a reciprocal action. The next two examples shall further evidence this sequential relationship.

In terms of ludic encounters, the majority of donations came from groups that included a young child. Typically, the mermaid interacted with the child, but the relevancy of a donation was recognised by an accompanying adult—as in extract 4.1, one presumes a parent or relative. The adult supplied the money, but would give it to the child to deposit. In this regard, extract 4.3 shows how giving a donation is generated through the mermaid's playful encounter with a child, but the

donation is eventually deposited by the adult due to the child's reluctance to approach the mermaid.

Extract 4.3.



When P1, P2, P3 and P4 walk into view of the camera, all except P4 display an interest in the mermaid. The mermaid quickly recognises and responds by producing a finger wave directed to P1 (A). As the group walks toward the pitch and then stops, the mermaid outstretches her arm and rotates her hand so that the palm faces upwards (B). This gesture is a request for P1 to approach. However, P1 is reluctant to approach; he takes a side step toward P2 (who appears to be encouraging or reassuring him) (C). The mermaid subsequently withdraws the open hand gesture and produces another wave using her fingers (D). P1 continues to display reluctance and the statue performer turns away to initiate interaction with other passers-by, out of view of the camera (E).

As the mermaid is attending to other passers-by, P2 retrieves some money from his pocket and gives it to P1 (F). P1 then immediately attempts to hand it to P4. P4 is busy searching her handbag and doesn't take the money, and so P1 gives it to P3 (G). P3 takes the money from P1 and then deposits it into the collection box (H). The mermaid notices this, who then appears to gaze at P1 again (as though in

recognition that P3 has deposited the donation instead of P1). P3 then positions herself on the edge of the performance pitch, immediately opposite the mermaid, to take a photograph (I). She is joined by P1, P2 and P4. When the photograph is taken, the group walks away.

In this extract, we see how, despite P1's reluctance to approach the mermaid or deposit the donation, P2 and P3—the adults—progress the interaction; P2 appears to encourage P1, and then actively promotes an encounter with the mermaid by handing money to P1. While there is no contact between the mermaid and P1, as there *was* in extract 4.1, this does not prove terminal to the mermaid's project. Here, I want to emphasise the significance of P2 searching for and retrieving coins for donating. Clearly, he recognised that money could be given, which was likely determined from the visibility of the collection box. As in extract 4.2, the money selected was a nominal some of a coin or two. Also consider that the money was not only being given to P1 so he could deposit it—the money was still deposited even when P1 declined to do so himself.

In extract 4.4 below, the child (P1) deposits the coins into the collection box. As P1, P2 and P3 (carrying another child in her arms) walk into the view of the camera (A-C), P2 notices the mermaid (C). Although the camera view is partly obscured by other passers-by, it appears that P2 then proceeds to bring the mermaid to the attention of P1, with P1 thereafter orienting to the mermaid (D & E).

Extract 4.4.





As the pair walks past a parallel position, P2 continues to look at the mermaid. On seeing P2 looking elsewhere (D), P1 re-orient to P2's direction of looking and finds the mermaid (E). We can see that when P1 turns to look at the mermaid, the mermaid has begun to produce her "reaching out" gesture. As in extract 4.1, this evidences that the mermaid had already recognised the possibility for an encounter. P1 finds the mermaid just as she has produced the gesture and is clearly taken aback by what she sees, as her jaw visibly drops. P1 then takes a few small steps towards the mermaid. In response, the mermaid modifies the gesture so that the palm of the hand faces upwards—in effect, producing the "holding out hand" gesture.

As in extract 4.3, P2 positively encourages P1 to interact with the mermaid; P2 has suspended the joint prior activity of walking, to take up the place as an audience member watching the unfolding interaction. On this occasion, P1 does offer her hand, and the mermaid kisses it (F), as happened in extract 4.2. As P1 turns around to return to P2, both P2 and P3 (her companion) simultaneously laugh. P3's laugh is particularly exaggerated and treats the encounter as appropriately creepy (G).

When P1 walks back to P2 the mermaid produces a finger wave. P1 followed by P2 treat this as an initiation of closing the interaction (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973); they both respond with waves of their own (H). However, as this unfolds, P4, who has been stood a few meters away, hands over a coin or two to P1. Upon P1 receiving the money (I) the encounter with the mermaid is momentarily re-opened (Button, 1987), as P1 comes forward to drop the donation into the collection box (J). Closing is then reinitiated by a further exchange of goodbye waves (K), and the group walks away.

In this encounter, then, we see how the participants, particularly P2 and P3, display understanding of the encounter as playful. Indeed, P2 and P3 actively collaborate with the mermaid in and through their laughter responses. Furthermore, P2's active encouragement for P1 to take an interest in the mermaid, and P4 handing over the money to deposit, are important moves for making the encounter happen.

With regard to the donation being given, P4 had begun searching for coins as

P1 was approaching the mermaid, before the kiss on the hand at (F). This shows how P4 had recognised the relevance of a money donation. As before, the amount is nominal and serves as a resource for producing a witness-ably reciprocal action. Again, the timing of the donation is significant— it is given in the adjacently subsequent position to the statue performer's kiss on the hand. Note that, as in extract 4.3, there is a preference for the child to deposit the money donation, and this time P1 does.

In this section I have discussed a series of extracts in which the living statue performer pursued some kind of playful interaction with passers-by. On each occasion the playful interaction was reciprocated with a nominal money donation, deposited into the decorative collection box. Typically, the mermaid statue performer selected young children who were passing-by as candidate targets of the playful interactions, but, as in extract 4.2, they could also be adults. Children were the preferred recipients because they were generally more open to participating in an encounter, but we might also speculate that they were less likely to orient to the performer's project of eliciting donations, and thus resist the statue performer's attempts to open up an encounter. The recording shows that, overwhelmingly, the typical outcome of these kinds of interactions was that passers-by would withdraw their gaze or ignore the mermaid entirely.

In a similar way to the busker's performance, the mermaid's striking visual appearance was used to summons the attention of passers-by. This was used as a platform on which to build further, focused interaction. The living statue performer then gave the passers-by a moment of tenderness or, conversely, creepiness, using a stylised repertoire of gestures. Significantly, the statue performer's gestures occupied the "first position" in the incipient interaction. This contrasts with other kinds of statue performers where a movement is produced in the second position, subsequent to giving a money donation.

The performance was given freely, and, yet, those passers-by who stopped and participated oriented to the relevancy of giving a money donation, even if it was only a token amount. In this way, we see how the mermaid was able to interactionally produce playful interactions as gifts-of-sorts to passers-by, which in turn made relevant a reciprocal response.

4.5.2. Posing for a photograph with the mermaid

This next section attends to a second set of common encounters, when passers-by would stop and pose for a photograph with the mermaid in return for a donation. The mermaid did not have to find possible receptive targets who would be open to taking photographs of her, in the way that was required for engaging

passers-by in ludic interactions. With that said, and as mentioned earlier, the mermaid had gone to some effort in order to make herself a subject that would be worth photographing; she put considerable effort into making her appearance striking. It was therefore no coincidence that many passers-by wanted to take photographs of her— it was a consequence of the statue performer’s carefully orchestrated appearance.

Many of these photographic occasions ended with no donation given. While it is tempting to say that passers-by were withholding from giving money (and no doubt this was the case for some), a practical explanation for this was that many of passers-by simply did not realise that a donation *could* or *should* be given. The decorative box used to collect donations was relatively small, and it didn’t necessarily make explicit that it was being used to collect money. At a glance, the mermaid’s collection box could have just as easily been treated as a performance prop (see figure 4.1 above). Furthermore, the living statue performer did not topicalise that money *can* or *should* be given in return for a photograph. As such, the living statue had limited resources with which she could enforce donations for photographs.

With all that said, there were many occasions when a donation *was* given in return for taking a photograph of the mermaid. This was most likely when a passer-by posed with the mermaid living statue while a friend or family member assumed the role of photographer. On such occasions, passers-by recurrently oriented to the relevancy of giving a donation, usually before, but also sometimes after, posing for the photograph. Some of these occasions will now be examined in detail, with an analytic focus on the interactional significance of why giving a donation is oriented to as relevant paired action.

4.5.2.1. Donating before

Most commonly, when a passer-by wanted their photograph taken with the mermaid living statue they dropped a money donation into the collection box as they approached her. That is, in the position adjacently *prior* to posing for the photograph. This is what occurs in extract 4.5.

Extract 4.5.



Because a passer-by is stood in front of the camera, we do not see P1, P2 and P3 stop and position themselves in front of the mermaid. However, when the passers-by move we see P1-3 stood together, along with a young girl who is not part of the group (A). As the mermaid does a finger wave toward the girl, P2 indicates for P1 to begin approaching the mermaid so that she can pose for a photograph (B). P1 holds out her hand, which is holding a few coins, as she begins to approach. She then proceeds to deposit the coins into the donations box (C). At the same time the performer moves her left hand to the treasure chest. Here, the performer displays her understanding that P1 is approaching in order to pose for a photograph. This is evidenced by the fact that as P1 straightens her back, having just deposited, mutual gaze is established and the mermaid then proceeds to “pat” the chest—indicating the place where P1 should sit (D). P1 then poses with the mermaid (E). However, it appears the P3 did not manage to successfully take a photograph and so P1 returns to pose with the mermaid a second time (not shown here).

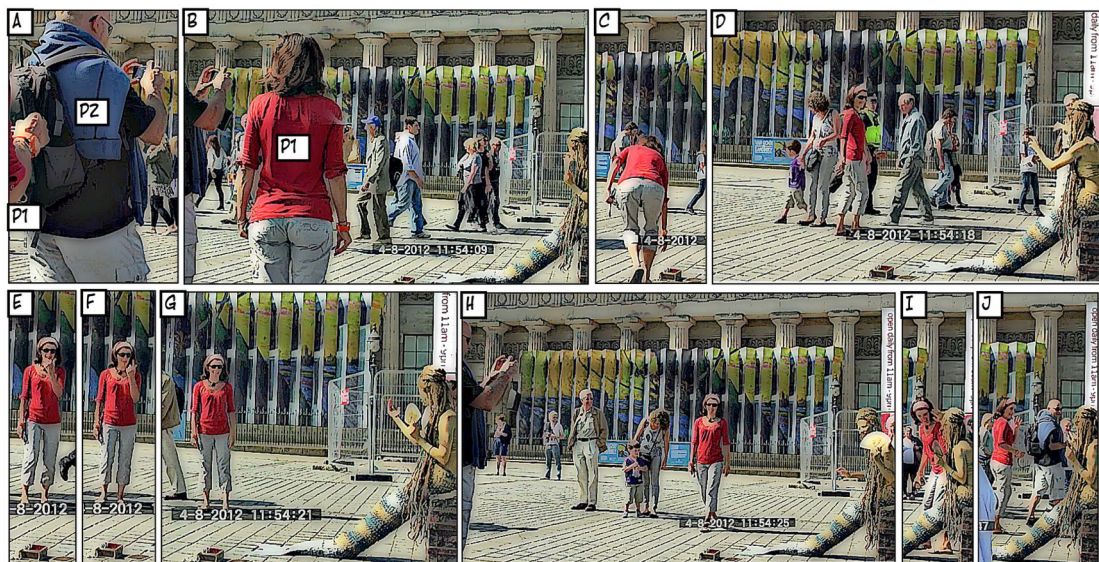
Note that, with regard to giving the donation, P1 had “pre-selected” some coins prior to beginning her approach (as was also observed in the previous chapter). This indicates that P1 had planned posing for a photo, in collaboration with P2 and P3. Furthermore, it suggests that P1 had recognised that giving a donation was a possibility, that the collection box on the ground was the place where it should be deposited, and that the donation could be deposited prior to posing for the photograph. Thus, we see P1 (along with P2 and P3) orient to a future set of actions, as evidenced in and through making preparations to deposit the

donation.

Donating prior to the photograph also has the effect of re-categorising P1 as someone who has donated, and by association P2 and P3. The mutual gaze that occurs immediately following depositing the money donation establishes that the mermaid has witnessed this, and that P1 has seen that the mermaid has witnessed this. Thus, subsequent to posing for the photograph, P1 can walk away without any possible misunderstanding that she has not handed over any money. In this way, P1 avoids any possible problematic assessment that she has “stuffed” the performer—i.e. that she has got something for *nothing*.

A similar occasion of donating sequentially prior to posing for the photograph occurs in extract 4.6, below.

Extract 4.6.



As the couple comes into view of the camera, P1 takes her purse out of the rucksack being worn by P2. She then proceeds to pre-select a donation (A). While P1 retrieves the coins, P2 video records/takes photos of the mermaid, using his camera. P1 then appears to wait until another passer-by and P2 have taken photographs before approaching the collection box (B). P1 walks to the collection box and deposits the coins (C). She then continues walking toward the other side of the pitch (D). She does not return to her original position, next to P2. Why does she do this? From when P1 and P2 are first visible on camera to when the coins are deposited in to the collection box, the mermaid was attending to persons to her right side (away from P1 and P2); the mermaid had not noticed P1 and P2. The first time that the

mermaid notices P1 and P2 is when P1 drops the coins into the box, as they make an onomatopoeic “clink” when they make contact with other coins. This would not have been possible with other forms of money media, such as paper notes. The depositing of money into the collection box, coupled with P1’s visibility in the mermaid’s peripheral vision, prompts the mermaid to shift her gaze to P1. When P1 reaches the other side of the performance pitch, she turns to face the mermaid and P2. During the turn, she gazes and smiles at the mermaid. At this point, focused interaction has been established. This is followed by the mermaid producing a gesture that beckons P2 with her index finger, which is then followed by P2’s slight rotation of the forearm as she points to herself with the index finger and the mermaid with her thumb (E & F).

It is at this moment that the mermaid turns to gaze at P2 (who is still pointing the camera at the mermaid) and is now aware that P1 is part of a “with”. The mermaid displays understanding that P1 is seeking to pose for a photograph, as she beckons P1 to come and sit on the treasure chest (G). Accepting the request, P1 produces a single nod of the head. However, P2 remains standing at the other side of the pitch. Gazing at P2, P1 takes a tentative step toward the mermaid while pointing in the same direction—she is informing P2 that she is now going to sit on the chest. However, on seeing P2 has not moved, P1 alters her trajectory and takes several steps toward him (H). At the same time the mermaid turns to P2 and poses for the camera; she reaches out toward the camera with her right arm and opens her mouth slightly, showing her teeth. It’s not clear if P2 takes a photograph or stops filming, but as the mermaid withdraws from the gesture he finally walks over to P1. The mermaid redoes the invitation to pose for a photo by extending her arm and hand toward to P1, with P1 finally accepting (I). As she walks away, P1 and the mermaid close the interaction by exchanging farewell waves

On this occasion, the activities of depositing coins into the collection box and walking into, and to the other side of, the performance area serve as “attention getting devices”. Whereas in extract 4.5 the performer was facing toward P1, P1 here must first solve the problem of having the performer attend to her. When P1 had first arrived, the statue performer was plainly busied interacting with other passers-by. Thus, P1’s activities (approaching and depositing) help secure the interactional floor, and thus clear the way for P1 to proceed to pose for the photograph. This also points to something both fundamental and novel for these kinds of interactions: that the activity of posing for a photograph requires the *participation*, and more specifically the *cooperation*, of the performer. Giving a donation was a resource for accomplishing this. This is, of course, was not so much a factor when passers-by

were simply taking a picture of the performer (although it could be useful for having the statue performer strike a pose).

In extract 4.7 below, the final example of passers-by depositing money before they pose for a photograph, P1 takes the unusual step of explicitly formulating *just what* the money is being given for.

Extract 4.7.



Approximately a minute earlier, P1, along with P2, P3 and P4, walked on to the Mound (A). The group had stopped immediately opposite the mermaid in order for P2 to take a photograph. The mermaid obligingly produced a finger wave toward the camera, before turning her attention to other passers-by out of view of the camera (B-C). The group then resumed walking, but then stopped again just as they were almost out of view of the camera (between (D) and (E)).

If we focus on P1 during this first sequence, when P2 takes the first photograph (B - C), he gazes in the direction of the collections box for approximately 1.0 second. He is the only member of the group to look at, and therefore notice, the collections box. When the group walk away together, P1 takes two further glances at the donations box (D - F). At the very least, we can say that collections box has

piqued his interest. It is also more than plausible that P1 has realised that giving a donation is a potential action, and one reason why it might be performed is in relation to taking photographs of the statue performer. Indeed, the second round of glances, as the group begin to walk away, are followed by glances toward his fellow group members, and may well be an attempt to have them also notice the collections box without having to explicitly say in so many words.

Before the camera view of the group is obscured by P3 of extract 4.2 (not shown here), P4 can be seen taking his camera out of its pouch. A few moments later P4 and P2 take additional photographs. Shortly after, as described in extract 4.2, the mermaid beckons P1 of extract 4.2 to approach, and the mermaid gives her a kiss on the hand. This is followed by P2 of extract 4.2 donating and then P3 of extract 4.2 also receiving a kiss on the hand, before P1, P2 and P3 of extract 4.2 finally walk away.

At this moment, P1 (of this extract) begins approaching the mermaid (barely audible, he says to P4 “(photograph)”. When the mermaid begins to gaze at P1, before he reaches the collection box, he says “I’d like it for a photograph”. On first inspection, this is a strange way of formulating the request for a photograph (instead of, for example, “I’d like a photograph”). However, the sense of P1’s talk becomes clearer when we consider his activity as sequentially subsequent to the group consisting of P1, P2 and P3 of extract 4.2. Recall that the mermaid’s encounters involved playfully giving P1 and P3 of extract 4.2 each a kiss on the hand. While P1 (this extract) is not in view of the camera for the first kiss, he is visible on camera for the second kiss, and he can be seen gazing at the mermaid and P3 of extract 4.2. Thus, P1 (of this extract) sees that at least one outcome of approaching and interacting with the performer is to receive a playful kiss on the hand. Clearly, this possibility could be problematic for him if he was seen by the performer to be pursuing the same kind of interaction—perhaps being seen as wanting the same thing *in light of* what has just happened. For P1 and P3 of extract 4.2 the kisses on their hands were easily made sense of as playful because of their visible gendered category incumbency as females. However, P1 (of this extract), by virtue of his visible gendered category incumbency as older male, could be seen as pursuing some kind of flirtatious/sexualised interaction. If he is to avoid this misunderstanding he has to make his intentions unambiguous to the (female) living statue performer. Thus, the pronoun “it” (“I’d like *it* for a photograph”) indexes the money donation; P1 thereby explicitly formulates depositing money as a reciprocal action for posing for a photograph, and not something else (in view of having observed that it *could* be in exchange for something else). The mermaid displays her

understanding of P1's intentions by patting the treasure chest, after P1 deposits the money into the collection box. Photographs are taken by P2 and P4, and then P1 returns to the group, before leaving the area.

Here, I suggest that it is significant that the donation is not deposited when the first photograph is taken by P2. P1's glances to the collections box were, in part, attempts to draw attention to the relevance of giving a donation, but these were not picked up by other group members. In light of this, an alternative way that P1 can donate is for him to pose for a photograph. Of course, one might now (quite rightly) be thinking that P1 could have simply donated without any of this apparent hassle. However, by tying the activity of donating to posing with the performer for a photograph, P1 is able to have the performer witness that this group of "withs", including P2 (the person who took the original photograph), has given something in return. Had P1 simply donated some money into the collection box then it would neither be clearly witness-able as being *in relation to* something (other than perhaps as a show of appreciation) nor as given on behalf of the "with". After all, taking the photograph of P1 with the mermaid requires the assistance of his companions.

So far, I have examined a series of extracts where, on each occasion, a passer-by donates prior to posing for a photograph with the performer. I have suggested that when the activity is sequentially organised in this way a passer-by is able to have the living statue performer witness the donation being given. This goes toward the passer-by's project of securing the interactional floor for the purpose of posing for the photograph. On seeing a passer-by deposit money into the collection box the mermaid was able to anticipate the passer-by was pursuing posing for a photograph as a candidate next action. The mermaid demonstrated this understanding by patting the chest. Generally speaking, posing for a photograph required the *cooperation* of the performer and thus giving a donation was an efficient way of securing this. Passers-by witness-ably gave a donation to the performer in order to make posing for a photograph sequentially relevant in return. Again we see that a reciprocal relationship is being produced and recognised. However, here the gift-of-sorts given first was the donation. Although, it wasn't given freely—donators deposited donations with the aim of having the performer recognise it *was* given in return for something. Last, the taken for granted relationship between donating and the thing being requested as a paired action was elaborated in the final example (extract 4.7), when P1 explicitly formulated the request. This was done in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding that the donation was being given in relation to "something" else. Here, what the "something" could be was treated as potentially ambiguous and problematic.

In the final analytic section of this chapter, I consider two occasions when passers-by deposited money *subsequent* to posing for a photograph. In these circumstances there was no indication that performer treated the absence of money deposited prior to the photograph as problematic. The reciprocal relationship of posing for photograph in return for a donation was constituted after the photograph was taken.

4.5.2.2. Donating after

Consider extract 4.8 below. When P1 and P2 come into view of the camera, they already appear to have established between themselves that P1 is going to pose with the mermaid for a photograph, and P2 will be the designated photographer (A). In this regard, P2 positions himself on the edge of the performance pitch while P1 approaches the mermaid. P1 first attracts the mermaid's attention when she briefly comes to a standstill on the edge of the performance area (although P1's body is facing away from the mermaid). The mermaid's gaze shifts from the left of the pitch toward P1, followed by rotation of her head (B). By this point, P1 is walking toward the mermaid.

Extract 4.8.



As P1 approaches, she briefly has to negotiate another passer-by: she makes a change in direction, walking a small ninety-degree curve. This change of direction

takes P1 away from the right side of the mermaid, and corresponding side of the treasure chest, to the front of the mermaid and the collection box. While it appears that the change in direction was to avoid the passer-by, P1 gazes at the collection box as she walks around it (C). Presumably, she is able to inspect the contents of the box and see that there are a number of coins there. P1 then performs a sharp left turn around the donations box and proceeds to sit on the treasure chest (D & E).

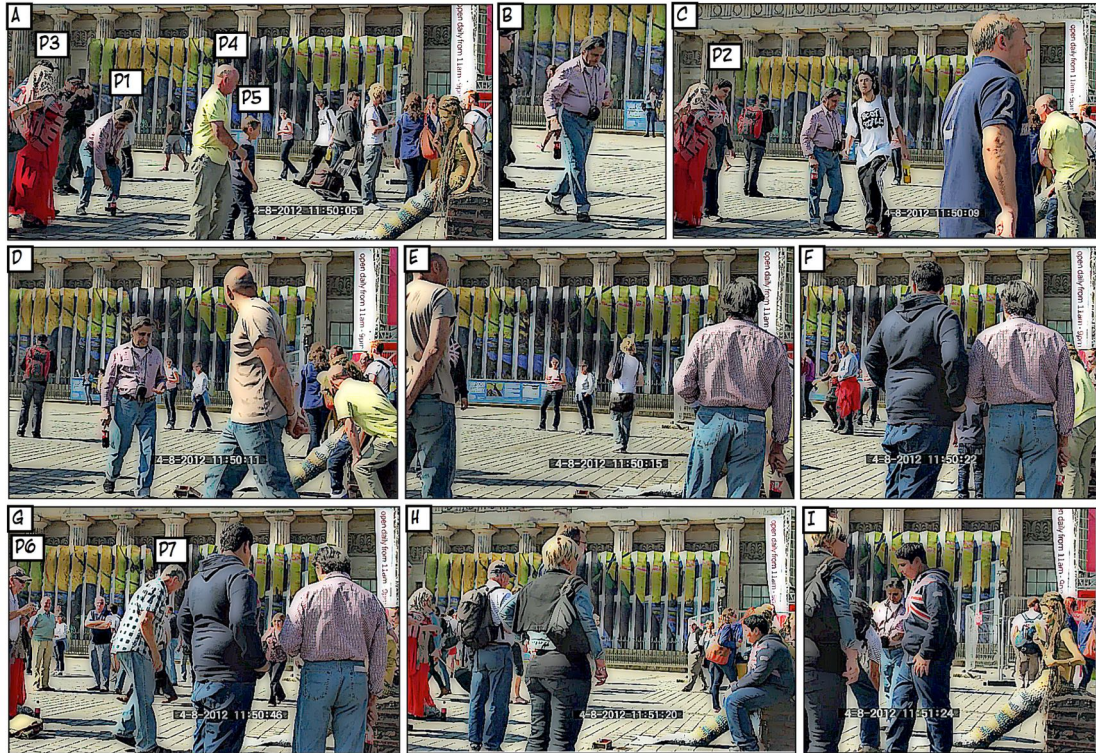
In the absence of donating on approach, P1 jointly establishes with the mermaid what is being requested by alternative means: just before P1 reaches the other passer-by, and just as the mermaid's gaze reaches P1, she produces a single, small, nod of the head. This seems to be doing something to the effect of acknowledging the mermaid's gaze, thereby establishing the move into a joint participation framework (Kendon, 1990b). The performer does not respond until P1 is negotiating the collection box, and she then begins to pat the left side of the treasure chest.

Two photographs are taken (E), with the second capturing P1's playful scared response to the mermaid stroking her hair (F). When P1 stands up to leave, she retrieves coins from her handbag and deposits them into the collection box (G). As P1 and P2 begin to walk away (H) the mermaid produces a creepy goodbye wag of the fingers and P2 responds with a "thank you" and nod of his head.

In contrast to extracts 4.5-4.7, P1 had not pre-selected coins for donating. This is not surprising given that her visible interest with the collection box, as she walked around it, suggests that this was possibly the first time she had noticed it. Alternatively, P1 could have already been aware that a donation should be given, but was unsure about what constitutes a suitable amount. In both cases, P1 would have seen *just that* and *just what* by inspecting the collection box. In the latter case, for example, P1 would be able to see that coins, not notes, were given, and that they were silver or gold rather than copper (thus providing further information about the amounts given by other passers-by). Nevertheless, donating in a sequentially adjacent position produces P1 as someone who has given something in return for the photograph.

Last, in extract 4.9, as we join the action, recall that P1 and P2 had previously taken photographs of P3 (P1 in extract 4.5) posing with the mermaid. Also recall that P3 had pre-selected some money and then deposited it as she approached the mermaid and treasure chest. On that occasion, the mermaid was looking in the direction of P3 when she began her approach, and so there was little chance of not witnessing P3 deposit the donation. As it happens, P1 and P2 also wish to have their photograph taken with the mermaid, with P3 fulfilling the photographer role.

Extract 4.9.



As P1 and P2 begin to approach the treasure chest, P1 looks down to his hand to pre-select a suitable sum of money from the cash that he has retrieved from his pocket (B). As he does this, two others, P4 and P5, are now approaching the mermaid (A). P5, at the instruction of P4, deposits money into the collection box and both take up a position next to the performer, with another companion (not visible in the graphic transcript) assuming the photographer role. While continuing to inspect his change, P1 walks toward the collection box. When he is, approximately, two or three steps away, he gazes at the mermaid (C). At this moment P5 is now sat on the treasure chest with P4 standing alongside him. Rather than deposit the coins into the collections box, P1 shifts his trajectory of walk around the box (D), and comes to a standstill at the side of the performance pitch (E) and waits. Moments later, he is joined by P2 (F). When P4 and P5 walk away from the performer, P1 and P2 do not move forward, and it appears that this is because the mermaid is now attending to two male companions, P6 and P7 (G), with the latter posing for a photograph with the mermaid and P6 being the photographer (they later reverse the roles for another photograph). Almost as soon as P7 begins to stand up, P1 takes a step forward and both he and P2 sit themselves either side of the mermaid (H). After the photograph is taken, P1 selects and deposits coins into the collection box (I).

By donating after the photograph, we see how P1 interactionally establishes a reciprocal relationship between the donation and posing for a photograph. P1 could have donated as P4 and P5 were organising themselves for their photograph, but, as mentioned in extract 4.7, it would not be necessarily apparent *just what* the donation was being given for. Here, P1 actively *withholds* from donating until he can do so in a sequentially adjacent position.

In this final analytic section I have examined two extracts where donating occurred subsequent to posing for a photograph. On both occasions there was some kind of problem that complicated donating before the photograph. In extract 4.8, P1 appeared to be either initially unaware that money could be given or how much should be given. In extract 4.9, although P1 apparently had money available in his hand to donate, he delayed doing so until a sequentially adjacent position was available. Nevertheless, on both occasions the action of donating is sequentially tied, and thus produced as a paired action with posing for a photograph.

4.7. Conclusion

This second empirical chapter has examined two kinds of encounters between a living statue performer and passers-by. The first kind of encounter involved the living statue performer engaging passers-by in a short sequence of playful interaction. The second kind involved passers-by posing with the mermaid for a photograph. Common to both kinds of encounter was that passers-by, at some point or another, deposited a money donation into the performer's collection box.

With regard to the playful interactions, the living statue was able to generate donations through selecting passers-by and then soliciting further interaction with them. The critical moment was in the use of stylised and tactile gestures. The recipient or the recipient's companions treated these as tangible things received in and through their embodied responses (e.g., laughter and open mouths). Crucially, their efficacy was in the way that they were produced for specific individuals. Thus, whereas the busking performance was in some ways indiscriminate with regard to who it might attract, the statue performer's performance required the participation of certain persons through focused interaction. This brought with it "new dynamics and accountabilities" (Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008, p.568), which is why simply walking away becomes problematic (because it is a non-normative, unilateral withdrawal from participation). As recipients of the statue performer's playful interactions, passers-by and their companions treated donations as an appropriate and interactionally relevant way to reciprocate. This was accomplished by donating in an adjacently subsequent turn, following, for example, a kiss on the hand or creepy scare. We might further note that the mermaid's project of pursuing

donations was never explicitly formulated. This was important because in these kinds of encounters it was the living statue performer who was initiating the interactions. To explicitly point to a requirement to donate after having interacted with passers-by could paint the performer as cynical operator.

Donations were also generated through the recurrent activity of passers-by posing with the mermaid for a photograph. For those interactions, giving a donation was a way for passers-by to secure the interactional floor and the performer's participation in posing for the photograph. This inverted the reciprocal relationship between donation and performance. And where donations were offered after posing the photograph, they were nonetheless sequentially tied. For both kinds of organisation (before and after), passers-by displayed understanding that a donation *ought* to be given; although, this did not happen on every occasion.

Finally, as was observed in the busking chapter, for both kinds of living statue encounter nominal sums of money were selected—a coin or two—and deposited. And again, it was for passers-by to find the salience of giving a donation in the first place. Throughout the recording, there were no examples of passers-by donating “non-trivial” sums of money. This is not perhaps surprising, considering that the performer provided no information about how much to give. On the other hand, the monetary value of *just what* was deposited was less important than *just that* it was deposited. The importance of donating was in its witness-ability and timing. Donating a nominal sum of money satisfied the interactionally generated requirement to reciprocate and supported the performer's project of entertaining passers-by for money.

Chapter 5

Morally obligating circle show audiences: the “hat speech”

5.1. Introduction

This chapter is the first of three that attends to the street performing circle show. Specifically, it will examine the interactional work relating to how circle show performers *explicitly* morally obligate audience members to give donations at the end of the performance. Performers refer to this specific part of the show as the “hat speech” because the performer requests audience members drop some money into their hat before walking away. The hat speech is usually delivered just before the grand finale of the show. Its explicit topicalising of donations contrasts with the implicit work that has been discussed so far in chapters 3 and 4.

The hat speech is a carefully crafted piece of talk. It is designed to accomplish a significant move towards persuading the audience collective that, in return for being entertained, depositing donations into the performer’s hat at the end of the show *ought* to be done. The craft is taken seriously and circle show performers spend time writing specific “hat lines”. These are the small strips of talk that additively make up the hat speech. Finding new and original material for addressing the audience about donations enables a performer to avoid being heard as merely repeating what other performers say (This is particularly relevant at large festivals, such as the Edinburgh Fringe, where many audience members will watch a series of shows and can quickly become familiar with content). Therefore, in this chapter I will consider how the extended request for money donations, not just individual hat lines, is structured and delivered, as well as how audiences respond; crucially, working up the moral obligation to donate through the hat speech is a collaborative matter.

The following section will provide a brief overview of the existing literature that has already made some headway on this specific part of the circle show. The position advanced is that the sequential organisation of this work has not been fully examined, which includes how the audience participate. I shall contend that

how the moral obligation is worked up is underspecified in the prior studies. Analyzing this organization is critical for understanding how a moral obligation to give money donations is accomplished. The next section provides a first example of a hat speech and identifies some of its key features. These are examined in further detail in the subsequent analyses, which examine the “preliminary” work and the explicit donation talk. The conclusion then summarises and reflects on what has been examined in the analyses.

5.2. A sequential analysis of donation talk

A social interactional examination of circle shows by Clark and Pinch (Clark & Pinch, 1995: chapter 9) and Mulkay and Howe (1994) have briefly discussed aspects of the hat speech. As already noted, Mulkay and Howe suggest that by making this talk humorous the performer is able to continue to entertain while also obligating the audience to give money for stopping and watching the show; humour is used both as a *commodity* and a *resource*. For example, when the performer says “if I’ve made you laugh, then, please, very simply take your hand [pause, laughter] put it in your pocket” he “formulate[s] the exchange relationship” (p.496). That is, having elicited a laughter response through humorous talk, the performer then constructs that as something that requires remuneration. Furthermore, Mulkay and Howe note that the performer clarifies the “when”, “how” and “how much” of donations, where such details cannot be taken for granted as known to the audience. For example, and again in the humorous mode, the performer obliquely pushes for paper money over coin (“Take out a contribution. Fold it up . . . rush forward . . . and place it into the hat” (p.496)), but then later names a more realistic price of his show as £1.00. This specific talk is also timed to occur just before the end of the performance, when the performer’s influence over the audience is arguably at its strongest.

Similarly, in their chapter on street entertainers in *The Hard Sell*, Clark and Pinch (1995) take an interest in the street performer’s donation talk. Their analysis is more broadly oriented to the interactional similarities which certain kinds of street entertainment share with market pitching (where that similarity extends to the entire show, and not only the hat speech). Clark and Pinch say that street performers rely on talk to incrementally build an obligation to donate, much like the market pitcher. With specific regard to the hat speech, Clark and Pinch describe how entertainers use talk that designedly emphasises guilt and pity, specifies particular sums of money, and sanctions audience members who leave without donating.

Both of these studies evidence some of the important work that hat speech talk does in obligating the audience to donate. However, they have not focused on its

sequential organisation—how a moral obligation is constituted on a turn-by-turn basis. Furthermore, both studies pay little attention to the audience's responses, or consider how the audience might feature as part of the work of navigating through the hat speech. Last, these studies do not explore the hat speech as a recurrent method of the circle show performer's institutional practices, or how it might vary between performers, or how its delivery can be an artful practice in and of itself. By taking an interest in the sequencing of this talk, and by drawing on a corpus of speeches that includes examples taken from multiple performers, as well as multiple instances from the same performer, this chapter will seek to evidence how the sequential organisation of the hat speech is critical to its efficacy as a morally persuasive device.

In that regard, I will evidence that, before any substantive talk about money donations occurs, performers undertake preliminary work that reproduces a specific technique used by the market pitchers discussed by Clark and Pinch (1988, 1995; Pinch & Clark, 1986). This was not examined as part of their own analysis of street performing donations talk. This work designedly solicits "mass audience responsiveness", which then gets treated by the performer as "[donations] implicative" (Clark & Pinch, 1988). However, such preliminary work also comprises performers spelling out their personal motivations, reasons and beliefs for performing that are intended to secure the support of the audience, and, in turn, build a moral obligation for money donations through reciprocity. Additionally, I will also show how three particular performers in the corpus demonstrate considerable proficiency in the latter type of work, insofar as they carefully build their talk to secure "gross displays of affiliation" (Atkinson, 1984b; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986) from their audiences. These affiliative audience responses are sequence critical because they get used as favourable grounds on which to go on to explicitly request money donations. This kind of skilful work more closely resembles the organisation of talk and audience responses found in public speaking than market pitching, as outlined by Atkinson (Atkinson, 1984a, 1984b, 1985) and others (Clayman, 1993; Eriksson, 2009; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986; McIlvenny, 1996).

Second, I will evidence that when performers do eventually go on to talk explicitly about money this is handled in ways that orient to its mentioning as a delicate matter. For one thing, unlike the market pitcher who can at least depend upon some commonly shared norms about buying and selling and the exchange of money for goods, the performer with "nothing physical to sell" (Clark & Pinch, 1995, p.243) has to manage potentially negative inferences that otherwise could be

drawn from declaring oneself as unpaid, and requesting money from persons in the street.

Third, I will add to Mulkay and Howe's (1994) and Clark and Pinch's (1995) analyses and show that overt donation talk consists in explicit formulations of "who" and "how much" that aim to capture as many individuals as possible, and where the reason for not donating is constrained to "affordability" rather than "enjoyability". Also, unlike the market pitcher who, as part of their sales routine will arrive at a pre-determined single price for the particular goods on sale, the performer has to provide a range of donation possibilities while still pushing for higher sums of money to be given. As a further original contribution, I will show that one way of doing this is to attach different assessments of value to different denominations of money.

Fourth, through the close analysis of the previous two kinds of talk (preliminary and explicit donation talk), I will seek to finesse the observation made by Mulkay and Howe (1994) that laughter is a central resource for the performer in creating an obligation to give money donations. I will suggest that humour isn't always used, and it in fact tends to be conspicuously absent for parts of the preliminary work, when the performer is doing serious talk. Humour typically gets introduced as the performer moves into overt talk about money, and in that way it is deployed to handle troublesome items; this is a typical feature in sales work, as discussed elsewhere by Mulkay, Clark and Pinch (1993).

Before going any further it will be helpful to first consider an example of a complete hat speech in order to pick out some of the key features that will be explored in detail throughout the rest of the chapter.

5.3. A first example

At the beginning of the extract the performer, Shay, is talking to his volunteer, Leslie, about fastening the last strap on his straitjacket. This is in preparation for the performer's imminent finale trick, which is to escape from a straitjacket as he simultaneously rides a giant pogo stick:

Extract 5.1

(SH = Shay; V1 = Volunteer (Leslie); A = Audience)

1 SH: you've been great Leslie (.) thank you (1.2) okay before
 2 you go Leslie (.) there is one more strap to do up (.)
 3 huh (.) now Leslie you've done the arms (0.2) really
 4 tight okay that's ↑good (0.4) this one doesn't need to
 5 be as tight (.) [okay
 6 V1: [(it will be as tight)=
 7 SH: =it will be a(h)s haha he he he oh no (.) >okay< Leslie



12 SH: excellent I've thoroughly enjoyed (.) doing it for you ah
 13 (.) this is my fifth year (.) at the Edinburgh Fringe (.)
 14 I thoroughly enjoy performing at this festival (.) ah
 15 there's so much happening (.) amazing crowds=at the end
 16 of the show (.) you know how it works (.) I'm not paid to
 17 be here (.) I flew myself from New Zealand (.) to come
 18 and entertain you at the end of the show I'll hold out my
 19 h:at (0.2) now I'd just like to let you know (.) on a
 20 serious note at the age of twelve years old (.) I told my
 21 parents (0.2) I wanted to be a comedian (0.6) they
 22 laughed (.) straight away
 23 A: h
 24 SH: and they ain't laughing now honestly
 25 A: -h-
 26 SH: h (0.2) after three years (.) I applied my life (.) to
 27 this forty five minutes of entertainment that you've seen
 28 here t'day (.) I try to make my show a little bit
 29 different (.) to everyone else's that you see on the
 30 street (.) I hope you appreciate it (.) folks (.) at the
 31 end of the show (.) if you throw me a fiver (.) that
 32 would be great (.) I think this trick here (.) alone is
 33 worth a fiver=some people (.) even think it's worth a
 34 twenty (.) or a tenner (0.2) whatever you want to throw
 35 in the hat it's up to you I can't make you (0.2) as long
 36 as you're honest (0.2) then I will make enough money to
 37 leave Edinburgh (.) and I won't be stayed to force here
 38 (0.6) and breed with the locals
 39 A: hh
 40 SH: yeah yeah (.) it- it could happen (.) okay (.) ah folks
 41 (.) the other thing to remember the more money you give
 42 me at the end of the show (0.6) the more money I have
 43 A: hhhhhhhh
 44 SH: it's a fact that one (.) okay (.) >here we go<

As a general observation, the hat speech is substantial in length and unfolds over a number of turns-at-talk. The beginning and end are clearly boundary-marked: at (C) Shay re-orient his talk to the audience as the main recipient, which had just been addressed to Leslie as the recipient (lines 1-7 and (A)). This accomplishes a subtle re-configuration of participation (Goffman, 1981; Goodwin, 2007; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). It is achieved by the performer selecting the general address term “folks” and redirecting his gaze toward, and then clockwise around, the audience circle (B-D). Also, presumably in anticipation of the upcoming hat speech and the need to visibly address the entire audience, Shay had moments earlier climbed atop his ladder. Most significantly, the change of configuration of participants is accompanied by a shift in the object of talk: Shay moves from performance task talk—that is, getting Leslie to fasten the straps on the straitjacket in jocular ways (lines 1-7)—to asking the audience if they’ve “enjoyed the show” (C). This constitutes a re-orienting move away from talking *as part of* the show to talking *about* the show. This continues until line 44, when Shay signals he is closing the hat speech; he projects a shift to some other object of talk (“okay (.) >here we go<”) (see Beach, 1995). Note how “here we go” conveys a sense of movement—in this case progressing with the performance (Indeed, Shay begins to swing the remaining unfastened straitjacket strap between his legs—a return to the previous activity of having his volunteer, Leslie, fasten the straitjacket straps). In this way, for all intents and purposes, Shay marks the prior talk—the hat speech—as something separate to the rest of the performance; for the audience it is not to be treated as part of the show, but as a momentary, albeit important, diversion. For the performer, however, the hat speech is a planned, necessary, and integral part of the show’s structure.

Prior to overt talk about money donations, Shay produces preliminary talk that is plainly “leading up to something”: he first enquires about the audience’s enjoyment, followed by several turns-at-talk which express his own enjoyment of performing at the festival ((C - D) and lines 12-15), the personal sacrifice on his part to attend (lines 17-18), and the history and effort that has gone into producing the show (lines 19-30). Despite “putting [money donations] on the agenda” (Clark & Pinch, 1995, p.248), by telling the audience that “I’m not paid to be here” (line 16-17), the performer doesn’t elaborate any further on specific details. Note how the prefatory “at the end of the show (.) you know it works” (lines 15-16) does two things: first, by referencing the end of the show, Shay strongly hints at the relevance of what “I’m not paid to be here” will mean. Second, by attributing to his audience prior commonly held knowledge about how a circle show happens, Shay greatly

constrains how “I’m not paid . . . ” can be heard as an announcement of “news”. In this way, for the audience members who do find this as news, Shay is absolved from the charge that he has been purposefully holding back something newsworthy (Sacks, 1992). Generally, then, the preliminary talk appears to be laying the foundations on which a request for donations can be explicitly talked about, and justifiably made.

Third, the other substantive part of the hat speech occurs when Shay moves into overtly talking about the details of money donations: “folks (.) at the end of the show (.) if you throw me a fiver (.) that would be great”. Note how he provides an assessment (Pomerantz, 1984) of giving and receiving a fiver as “great”. Money, then, is given the possibility to be meaningful beyond its pecuniary value. Furthermore, instead of offering a fixed price, Shay proceeds to open up the possibility for other amounts of money donations to be given: specifically, he evaluates the finale trick as worth a “fiver” and therefore provides for the possibility of giving *more* money for the *whole* performance. Building on this, he then suggests that some audience members in the past have valued the finale trick as worth more—twenty, or ten-pounds. Note also that the three sums of money talked about are all denominations of paper money. Shay then tells his audience members that what they choose to give is ultimately up to them, and that he cannot force them to donate. He finishes the hat speech with two humorous pieces of talk that delicately push for the audience to donate, and donate as much money as possible; the first piece of talk plays on his ability to return to New Zealand being conditional on the audience’s honesty. This, of course, also carries with it the unspoken inference that any audience member who doesn’t donate is dishonest. The second piece of humorous talk, delivered as a truism, pursues the audience to generously donate.

This brief overview of a performer’s hat speech points to a number of typical features, and a basic recurring structural organisation utilised by many other circle show performers. The following summarises the three main observations:

- i. The hat speech is produced and organised as a coherent object of talk. The start and end are marked by shifts to and from performance task talk. The performer treats the hat speech as having its own distinct interactional project, related to, but separate from, other performance talk.
- ii. The performer utilises a preliminary, or “pre-money” component that prepares the ground for overtly talking about money donations. This work includes enquiring about the audience’s enjoyment. No specific details about donations are mentioned, although they may be hinted at.
- iii. Subsequent money talk addresses the “who” and “how much” of

donations. This also first requires that the performer informs the audience that they are not paid by anyone else, and handling any potential negative inferences this announcement generates. Specific denominations of money to donate are suggested and evaluated. The performer partly grounds the request for higher denominations in particular features of the show (e.g., the finale trick) and previous audience evaluations.

In the remainder of this chapter I will further examine observations (ii) and (iii). I will not pursue observation (i), but only suggest that it points to how performers treat the hat speech as analysably distinct from surrounding performance task talk; it illustrates the hat speech as attending to a particular institutional task. In examining (ii) and (iii), I shall evidence how performers design their hat speeches, with a view to suggesting that they are methodic, scripted and recurrent pieces of talk that performers use to persuade audience members to donate money at the end of the show.

5.4. Preliminary money talk

Away from circle shows, preliminary, or “pre-sequence” talk is an interactional device used in the service of many other kinds of social projects. Indeed, first discussed by Sacks in his lectures on ordinary conversation (Sacks, 1992; Fall 1967, Lecture 8), pre-sequences have been found to operate as part of doing announcements (Terasaki, 2004 [1976]), invitations (Arminen & Weilenmann, 2009), openings (Schegloff, 1968), closings (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), and even the gestural projection of possible next actions (Streeck, 1995). Generally speaking, pre-sequences get used by members as resources to jointly progress particular strips of interaction, by navigating the possibility of bringing off some subsequent next action (Heritage, 1984b, p.277-280). As Clayman (2002) says, pre-sequences are a way of “testing the water”.

Pre-sequences are considered to be sequentially “implicative” because their execution has direct “consequences” for what comes next (Sacks, 1992; Fall 1967, Lecture 8). For example, before telling a joke, a story, or announcing some news, one might wish to find out whether or not the intended recipients have heard the item before. To that end, one can do several things, including using a preface to overtly announce an upcoming telling, provide a characterisation (e.g., a joke as “dirty”, or some news as “terrible”), or perhaps inform of the source and when it was told/heard (Sacks, 1974; Terasaki, 2004 [1976]). If the joke/story/news has been heard before then the telling can be terminated, or perhaps might only get told as a “first telling” to particular recipients. Turning to other kinds of social actions, such as invitations, offers and requests, one might wish to find out what is the likely

chance of success, so as to avoid the possibility of a rejection or a refusal. For example, before doing an invitation one might simply want to report an event and leave the recipient to find for him or herself the upshot of the unspoken invitation (Drew, 1984). In this way, should it turn out that a recipient is unable to accept, for example because they're unavailable, then the pre-sequence as leading up to something can, in effect, be deleted; the reporting then gets treated as just that—a reporting.

In their corpus of sales work studies, Clark and Pinch (Clark, Drew, & Pinch, 1994; Clark & Pinch, 1988, 1992, 1995; Pinch & Clark, 1986) find a recurrent use of preliminary sequences, where they take on the particular institutional job of enhancing the chance of securing a transaction. In this regard, market pitchers try to achieve “mass audience responsiveness”. They do this by soliciting expressions of interest in a particular item on sale and then “retroactively” treat such interest as in fact a more a solid commitment to buy (Clark & Pinch, 1988, 1995; Pinch & Clark, 1986). Doing this with the entire audience allows the pitcher to quickly sell large quantities of the same item. The efficacy of this strategy, say Clark and Pinch (1988), is in the equivocality of both buyer and seller actions: the pitcher’s solicit for people to show interest in the goods on sale also constitutes an offer to sell (“*Now ’oo can use ’em if ah go a bit lower, (0.3) than a pound ten pence?*” (p.126)); and when, for example, audience members raise their hands to display an interest in the goods they are also treated as “buying implicative responses” (p.126). Market pitchers refer to this particular technique as “Getting the Forks Up”. Similar to the other kinds of interactional work mentioned above, the efficacy of the technique lies in the sequentially implicative work of the pre-sequence; as Clark, Drew and Pinch (2003, p.24) say

In responding positively and affiliatively to a pre-sequence utterance an interactant is, in effect, rendered under some heightened obligation to consent to the action the pre-sequence utterance prefigures (e.g., an invitation) when it subsequently and officially is announced. (p.24)

As we shall see, circle show performers often use a technique of soliciting mass audience responsiveness, as part of the project of persuading audience members to give money donations. This closely resembles the market pitchers’ method just mentioned. However, we shall also see later that, although donation implicative, performers will treat mass audience responsiveness as not entirely sufficient grounds on which to request money donations. Further circle show specific work gets incorporated into the preliminary sequence.

5.4.1. *Soliciting mass audience responsiveness*

Recall in extract 5.1 above how Shay began his hat speech with an enquiry as to whether the audience had enjoyed the show:

Extract 5.2.

(SH = Shay; A = Audience)

1 SH: Folks have you enjoyed the show,
2 A: YEA: :: :: :: :: H

This is a typical first move in the hat speech, as evidenced in the following extracts from other performers' shows:

Extract 5.3.

(P = Jeremy; A = Audience)

1 P: Alistair (.) Alistair (1.0) Alistair (I need you to)
2 stand over here (.) hold the knives (.) (you can work-
3 you're solid (but) dangerous (0.2) right David (0.2) stay
4 → there, (0.3) ladies and gentlemen boys and girls (0.4)
5 → have you had fun this afternoon?
6 → A: YEAH: :: :: :: ::
7 P: is that kid gonna go really far in his life?
8 A: YEAH: :: ::
9 (0.9)

Extract 5.4.

(E = Etienne; A = Audience)

1 E: () okay (.) alright (1.2) okay we gotta do the
2 show (.) um (.) wow now I'm all flustered (4.2) here we
3 go (.) oh my god I'm forgetting everything um ((climbs on
4 → platform)) (1.6) >are you guys having a good time< so far
5 → at the show?
6 → A: YEAH: :: :: ::
7 E: that's good (.) cos(h) cos Leah and I are street
8 performers (0.2) and this is what we do for a living
9 [(1.2) that's right
10 AM: [hehhehheh
11 E: nobody pays us to be here ((outstretches arms))

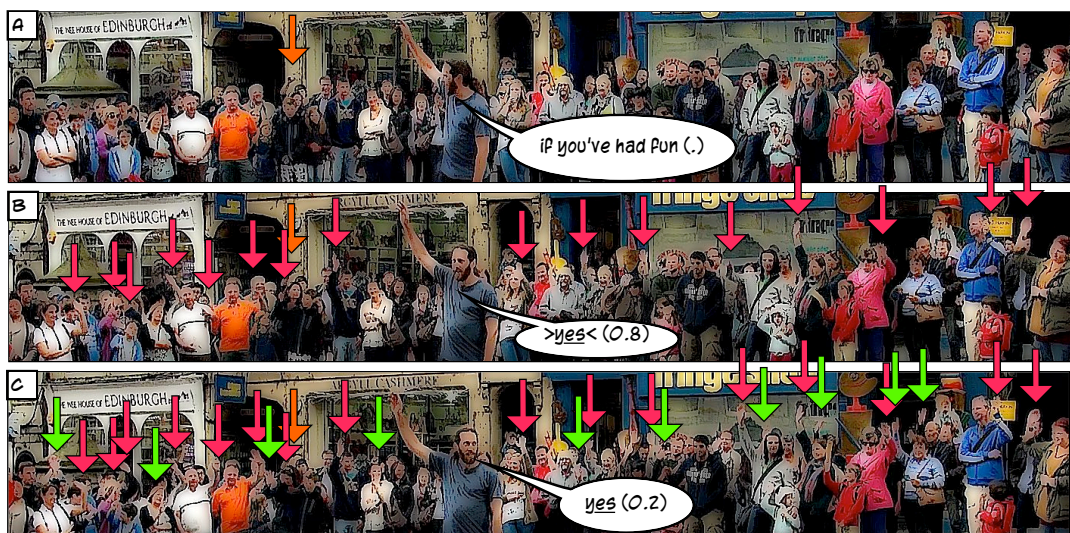
It's striking that that in extracts 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 the question is formulated as a "yes/no interrogative" (or "YNI") (Raymond, 2003, 2006), and almost the same YNI construction is used in each example. In extracts 5.2 and 5.3, the performers ask the audience to indicate their fun or enjoyment. Interestingly, both enquiries are done in the present perfect tense. In this way, and despite the fact that each show has not

finished (with the finale trick still to happen), the performers are able to have their audiences' expressions of enjoyment stand in relation to the *whole* show. This is significant in that it fixes each audience's response, treating it as final rather than one that might be revisable in light of, for example, an anticlimactic finale. In one sense its placement indicates the time criticalness of the question; the hat speech needs to be done before the finale, as Mulkay and Howe (1994) noted, when the performer's influence over their audience is at its strongest. In Extract 5.4 by contrast, the YNI is formulated in the present continuous tense (">are you guys having a good time< so far at the show"). The difference here being that although the audience's assessment will stand in relation to the show up to now, it doesn't fix it in the same way as in extracts 5.2 and 5.3. That could be significant where, again, there is still the grand finale to happen. Notwithstanding that difference, notice that each question incorporates a positive valence term ("fun"; "enjoyed"; "good time"); these bend and project the audience's response toward a preferred type-conforming "yes" (or "YEAH") (Raymond, 2003). Indeed, in all three extracts the audience responds with a loud and stretched affirmative "YEAH".

In extract 5.5 below, instead of asking the audience via a YNI, J-P asks his audience members to raise their hands if they've had fun:

Extract 5.5.

- 1 JP: You've been gorgeous (1.0) my show (0.2) is about
 2 → laughter (.) I'll finish with the big tricks (.) can I
 3 → ask (.) you guys have been great (.) let me know (.)
 4 → everyone (.) hands up (0.2)





8 JP: I love what I do (.) I've done it since I was six-err
 9 thirteen years old (.)
 10 [I first came here when I was sixteen (.)
 11 [((kneels on ground))
 12 seriously though (.) I've gotta say (0.8) this is my job

Despite there still being the finale to perform, J-P constructs the condition of the request in the past tense (whereas he could otherwise say: “hands up if you’re *having* fun”). Again, this treats the audience’s response more like an end of show response. Notice that through this different format, J-P doesn’t entirely leave his audience members to make up their own minds: after “can I ask” he inserts a compliment (“you guys have been great”) followed by a reaffirming of the request (“let me know”) and that he is asking “everyone”, before completing the request for raised hands. Note also that J-P raises his own hand first (A) (solving a common audience concern of “who will be the first”; see Clayman (1993)) and then encourages as many hands as possible to be raised with the emphatic, twice produced, “>yes<”; the first is produced just as the first few audience members begin to raise their hands (B); the second is produced when hands are raised, but more are clearly being pursued (C). There are perhaps several advantages of using this non-verbal method over the verbal YNI: first, one cannot so easily dodge the raising of hands since the performer (and fellow audience members) will be able to see those persons whose hands remain lowered. Second, *not* raising hands is turned into an accountable action in its own right—now observable as “not had fun”. In contrast, a non-response from the audience following the YNI does not necessarily indicate “not had fun” since that could be indicated with a “no” response. Asking for raised hands, therefore, constrains even more the range of possible audience responses.

For both methods of enquiry—the YNI and the request to raise hands—the performer solicits the audience for an affiliative response (Stivers, 2008). We could say that this is the performer simply enquiring about whether the audience is enjoying the show, but in fact these methods are being used to solicit mass audience responsiveness. This in turn can be treated as donation implicative. This claim is supported by considering that, for each example, the performer subsequently and explicitly goes on to talk about donations. Furthermore, J-P’s method of asking the

audience to raise their hands is similar to the market pitcher's "getting the forks up". Additional support for this claim can be found by considering two further examples, in which the performers include some extra talk for soliciting an affiliative audience response:

Extract 5.6.

(M = Mat; A = Audience)

```

1      M:      just trying to protect their innocence (1.0) and what I
2              have left of my dignity huh
3      A:      h-h
4      →M:      guys, >I'm gonna ask you a question< (0.8) I'd like an
5      →        honest (.) >response< (1.2) did you enjoy:: (.) my show
6      →A:      YEA:::::H
7      M:      thank you if you did enjoy my show, (0.2) I know
8              [none of ya believe this (1.0) but [this (.) is my full
9              [((holds both hands up))                [((holds up left arm
10                                     with hand closed))
11      time job (1.0) <it's how I earn a living (1.0) <it's
12      [how, I pay my rent=it's how I feed (.) my child (1.0)
13      [((brings left hand to chest))

```

Extract 5.7.

(C = Conrad; A = Audience)

```

1      C:      .h ladies and gentlemen, (0.8) phww (0.6) this is the end
2      →        of my show, (.) I have one (.) very serious question to
3      →        ask all of you, (.) I want you to be honest, (.) tell me
4      →        the truth (0.9) are you (0.2) having (0.2) fun
5      →A:      YEA::::::::::H
6      C:      thank you (0.8) <have I made you laugh here t'day?
7      A:      YEA::::::::::H
8      C:      thank you

```

The recurring features of the talk are plain to see: Mat's "did you enjoy:: (.) my show" (extract 5.6, line 5) and Conrad's "are you (0.2) having (0.2) fun" and "<have I made you laugh here t'day?" (Extract 5.7, lines 4 & 6) are consistent with the previous extracts. What might the additional components be doing? Both performers preface their YNI's with conditions pertaining to the upcoming response: they ask that their audience be "honest" (also see extract in Introduction). Conrad, in extract 5.7, additionally requests his audience tell him "the truth" (lines 3-4). Note also that Conrad frames his first question as "very serious". One explanation is that these additional components are further measures with which to secure a strong affiliative response. However, we have seen in extracts 5.2 - 5.4 that that can be done quite successfully and straightforwardly by employing a yes/no

interrogative. More interesting, perhaps, is that these components are used as part of a preface to announce an upcoming question. Why do both performers announce that they are going to ask a question and not simply do it? Another explanation, following Schegloff (1980), is that announcing the upcoming question (i.e., doing an action projection) “marks the projected action as itself a preliminary” (p.121). That is, the question “did you enjoy my show” / “are you having fun” and subsequent audience responses are marked as preliminary to a *further* action; they are shown to be building up to something else and not for their own sake. Here, of course, *that* something else will be talking about donations. In this regard, we might see these additional components as doing further sequential fine-tuning; in addition to their general placement as preliminary talk, these components are designed to tie, more strongly, the audience’s affiliative response to the upcoming request for money donations.

With this first collection of extracts, then, I have suggested that when performers ask the audience if they’ve had a good time they are pursuing an affiliative mass audience response that can be treated as donation implicative. The grammatical construction often treats, for all intents and purposes, the affiliative response as standing in relation to the whole show. This is despite the most spectacular trick—the grand finale—is yet to happen. Support for performers treating these responses as donation implicative was evidenced in the way that talk about money donations recurrently follows, as well as how some performers more strongly mark the YNI as a preliminary to upcoming donation talk.

Recall that in extract 5.1, after soliciting the audience’s stance, Shay doesn’t immediately move into overt talk about donations (despite revealing that he isn’t paid). He instead expresses his own enjoyment of performing, as well as produces accounts that might serve to justify a request for donations. This included him describing his childhood ambitions to be a comedian, followed by highlighting the uniqueness of the show. Unlike the market pitcher, who treats the purchase implicative response from the audience member as adequate for progressing to the exchange of goods, the circle show performer evidently sees it necessary to undertake further persuasive work. This is perhaps because of the affiliative audience response being equivocal. In that regard, whether the performers’ subsequent talk is brief or elaborate across the corpus, it is nonetheless topically similar, insofar as each performer sets out, to whatever degree, their motivations, reasons and/or beliefs for performing. Although there are several themes (often employed in the same speech) I will next examine one of the most commonplace themes. Thereafter, I will revisit talk from three particular performers that have

mastered pre-money donations talk, in as much as they artfully secure a further strong display of audience affiliation (different to that just discussed). This occurs immediately prior to moving into overtly talking about donations. These three performers are the only ones in the corpus who do this additional work.

5.4.2. Motivations/reasons/beliefs: *street performance is a social good*

One reason mentioned concerns performing the show in order to contribute a social good. For example:

Extract 5.8.

(C = Conrad; A = Audience; AM = Audience member)

```

1      C:    thank you (0.8) <have I made you laugh here t'day?
2      A:    YEA:::::H
3      C:    thank you ladies and gentlemen I love what I do for a
4            living .h I travel around the world .h I gather people
5            around me .h I make them laugh and smile .h the reason I
6            do this .h is because I believe in one thing very
7            strongly [(0.3) I believe .h that a
8            AM:    [what's that?
9            C:    world with more laughter (0.7) is a better world (0.9)
10           whatta you reckon
11     A:    WOO::::
12           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx[xxx-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x]
13           |------(5.2)-----|
14     C:    [if (.) we gather together and] we laugh
15           (.) we can't hate each other .h we can't have stupid wars
16           .h killing hundreds and thousands of people .h ladies and
17           gentlemen (.) the sad news is (0.4) no one (0.3) pays me
18           (0.2) to do this job

```

In the above extract, and immediately after the enquiry about the audience's stance (see extract 5.7), Conrad emphasises the global reach of his show (line 4), what he does (line 4-5) and the belief underpinning why he does it (lines 5-16). The performer explicitly connects *how* his show is a social good: more laughing and smiling (the purpose of his show) results in less war and hate. Thus, the performer's show is literally making the world a "better world". Also, consider the absence of humour that contrasts with prior performance talk (immediately preceding the hat speech), and the subsequent explicit talk about money. Clearly, the message that the show is a social good should be taken seriously, where humour could undercut this claim. Also, the sequential placement of this work is significant insofar as the audience's responses to Conrad's two prior questions (see extract 5.7 above) provide a clear sense of veracity to these claims. This is the final stretch of talk before he goes on to explicitly talk about donations (lines 17-18).

Tim elaborates a similar motivation:

Extract 5.9.

(SM = Tim; A = Audience)

1 SM: I came from Australia this year I come from different
2 countries every single year (.) I bring this crap
3 aro(h)und the planet with me so you can see it (0.2) not
4 every show I do is perfect (0.2) if it were it wouldn't
5 be my show (.) but guys (.) at the end I get an audience
6 that helps me do the impossible that's you guys (.) help
7 me out (.) do it from the heart (0.2) but guys at the end
8 of the show please realise I'm not paid to be here

By saying, "I bring this crap aro(h)und the planet with me so you can see it" (lines 2-3), Tim casts a similar selfless take on his performance. Specifically, the description of his performance props as "this crap" (including a large box full of props) trivialises the personal value (that might otherwise be a good reason to take certain possessions on long journeys); it conveys a certain undesirability of transporting these items for his own benefit. Moreover, the laughter particle produced in the middle of "aro(h)und" (line 3) displays a recognition of the absurdity of travelling across the globe with these objects.

Moving on to another example:

Extract 5.10.

(JP = J-P; A = Audience)

1 JP: I have to say two very important things=the first one
2 (0.5) ladies and gentlemen (0.6) is money. (2.0) yeah
3 you're not laughing now are ya
4 A: hhh
5 JP: second one (.) is not about the money (.) it's not about
6 the show (.) the s:econd one (0.2) is for me (0.4)
7 tomorrow morning (0.2) do me a favour (0.2) go home,
8 (0.2) pick up a newspaper (0.5) read it (0.8) there are a
9 lot of problems in this world (0.4) I have no idea (.)
10 how to fix >any of them< (0.2) all I've ever been able to
11 do since I was a kid (0.2) is make people laugh (0.2)
12 please (.) after these tricks (0.2) take that laughter
13 with you (.) take it home (.) spread it round (.) smile
14 at people (.) it's not that hard (.) and when they turn
15 round to you and go (.) "what the hell are you smiling at
16 me for ya FREAK"
17 A: H-H-H
18 JP: and they will [ha ha
19 A: [hhhhh

20 JP: >tell 'em about J-P Koala the mad axe guy from Australia<
 21 (.) >maybe they'll laugh maybe they won't< (.) it's the
 22 best I can do for this world (.) my life is dedicated to
 23 it (.) I hope you enjoyed my show
 24 ((nods head))

I'll return to this example in further detail in a moment. However, for now, notice the second of two things J-P has to tell his audience: that although he is unable to solve some of the more serious problems in the world (which is not an unfair claim for anyone to make) he is able to make people laugh (lines 8-11). Consequently, laughter should be taken from the show and spread around to other people. When compared with Conrad's suggestion in extract 5.8 that more laughing and smiling means less war, J-P's rationale for performing is modest. Nevertheless, it is consistent with being talked about as a social good ("it's the best I can do for this world") and, moreover, what J-P is committed to doing ("my life is dedicated to it").

Tony takes a similar approach:

Extract 5.11.

(TR = Tony; A = Audience)

1 TR: >okay< (.) look ladies and gentlemen (.) thank you
 2 very much for stopping here today (0.2) my name is Tony
 3 Roberts I come from Adelaide (.) Australia (0.2) I stand
 4 in front of you shackled inside a tennis racket (0.2) my
 5 thumbs are taped together I can't pick or manipulate the
 6 locks (.) and I am wrapped in forty two feet of chain (.)
 7 and this (0.2) is exactly (0.2) what my great (0.2) great
 8 (0.2) great (.) grandfather looked like (.) when he
 9 arrived (.) in Australia
 10 A: hhhhhh
 11 T: aw (.) by the way (0.2) on behalf of all Australians
 12 everywhere (.) to all the English here today (0.2) thank
 13 you for sending us there
 14 A: hhhhhhhhhh
 15 T: now guys (.) for the last ten years I've travelled th-
 16 from city to city around the world (.) as professional
 17 street entertainer (.) I do this because I choose it (.)
 18 for my living (.) I l- choose it for a living because I
 19 love it (.) (>and<) I love it for two simple reasons (.)
 20 reason number one (.) I'm a dad (0.4) and as a dad I'm
 21 appalled at how expensive it is to entertain your kids
 22 with live entertainment (.) that's why I believe in
 23 street theatre >cos look around< (.) it's available (.)
 24 and affordable for everyone (.) the second reason is much
 25 more simple (.) forty minutes ago I opened a suitcase to
 26 no one (.) in that time I've managed to gather (0.2) a
 27 couple of hundred people and give them a laugh (.) when

28 they least expected it (.) it's not much but is what I do
 29 and I'm very proud of it (.) an' I wanna thank each (.)
 30 and every one of you for being a part of my show today
 31 (.) let's face it without you standing there (.) me
 32 standing here would just look pretty stupid
 33 A: [hh
 34 T: [so ladies and gentlemen from the bottom of my heart (.)
 35 I hope you have had a genuine laugh (.) I hope you have
 36 enjoyed the show as much as I've enjoyed doing it for you
 37 (.) thank you (.) for being such a wonderful crowd
 38 [(.) cheers thank you (1.8) cheers (2.2) now ladies and]
 39 A: [-x-xx-x-x-x-x-x-x-]
 40 |------(6.2)-----|
 41 T: gentlemen I'm incredibly proud of the fact that the only
 42 way that I survive (0.2) is in the true tradition of
 43 street theatre (.) the only people who pay me are you the
 44 people who stop and watch my show

From line 19 onwards, Tony gives two reasons for performing: the first is done through a category shift as he self-categorises as a “dad” (line 20). Note that this follows another self-categorisation “professional street entertainer” (line 16-17) and a related category resonant description (lines 15-16), which first positions Tony within a performer-audience category pairing. This first categorisation, particularly “professional”, allows Tony to draw upon notions of skill and experience that might foreshadow a reasonable request for donations. The category shift, then, works to bring into play a territory or domain of knowledge (Heritage, 2012) that was previously unavailable for the other category incumbency. Being a “dad” allows Tony to appreciate the cost of providing live entertainment for children. Performing his show, therefore, provides a solution because everyone can afford to watch it (Notice that even though Tony talks of his show as “affordable” he does not further elaborate on this. He also doesn't say his show is free). The second reason Tony gives follows a similar line as J-P: Tony takes pride in the simple achievement of being able to provide passers-by with a laugh (lines 24-29). At this point, we might say that Tim (extract 5.9), J-P (extract 5.10) and Tony are all doing something similar that we can gloss as “humbling themselves before their audience”.

Besides performing as a social good, there are other a few other motivations/reasons/beliefs that performers routinely draw upon, as part of the preliminary work: for example the amount of time that the performer has been performing (J-P: “I've done this since was thirteen years old (.) I first came to this city (0.4) when I was sixteen (.) it's the reason why I >love it<”); enjoying performing for festival audiences (Shay: “I thoroughly enjoy performing at this festival (.) ah there's so much happening (.) amazing crowds”); and performing to earn a living (Etienne: “cos Leah and I are street performers (0.2) and this is what we do for a living”). These all serve to incrementally build a moral obligation for

donations in the preliminary section, before any talk of donating actually happens.

Next, I want to examine in further detail some of the sequential features of three specific preliminary donation talk sequences. These come from the performers: J-P, Conrad and Tony. I'll examine how their preliminary sequences are elaborate and tightly structured. These three performers are unique in the corpus, insofar as they deploy carefully designed sequences of talk that secures each audience's affiliation, just prior to talking overtly about money. In that regard, they are exemplars of organising and delivering a hat speech.

5.4.3. Pursuing "gross displays of affiliation"

Earlier in the chapter I discussed how the performers used a yes/no interrogative (or some equivalent) to solicit an affiliative mass audience response that is donation implicative. There is another kind of affiliative response that performers can pursue, which more closely resembles the type of "gross displays of affiliation" produced by audiences at public speaking occasions (Atkinson, 1984b; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986). These do not carry the same "donation implicativeness", but instead affiliate the audience with the performer's rationale for performing (Thus strengthening the moral justification for donating). These affiliative responses are not haphazardly generated, but in fact are recurrently produced across multiple instances of each of the three performers' shows for "each next audience". For example:

Extract 5.12.

(From extract 5.11) (TR = Tony; A = Audience)

1	A:	[hh
2	T:	[so ladies and gentlemen from the bottom of my heart (.)
3		I hope you have had a genuine laugh (.) I hope you have
4		enjoyed the show as much as I've enjoyed doing it for you
5		(.) thank you (.) for being such a wonderful crowd
6		[(.) cheers thank you (1.8) cheers (2.2) now ladies and]
7	A:	[-x-xx-x-x-x-x-x-x-]
8		------(6.2)-----
9	T:	gentlemen I'm incredibly proud of the fact that the only
10		way that I survive (0.2) is in the true tradition of
11		street theatre (.) the only people who pay me are you the
12		people who stop and watch my show



I have already discussed some of the work Tony undertakes in constructing his motivation/ reasons for performing as contributing a social good. We also know that Tony sets out two reasons for performing, which involved producing some neat category work with the first reason and humbling himself in the second. At the end of the second reason Tony moves to thanking his audience (extract 5.11, lines 29 - 38) to which the audience respond with just over 6.0 seconds of applause (extract 5.12, lines 7 & 8). Following Atkinson (1984a, 1984b) and Heritage and Greatbatch (1986) we know that applause is not produced spontaneously, but in orientation to talk that is rhetorically formatted, gives emphasis to the speaker's talk, and clearly projects a turn completion point. Looking at the transcript we can see how Tony uses the "list of three" rhetorical format to elicit applause: at line 2 (extract 5.12) he announces how his thanks comes "from the bottom of my heart". His "thanks" is then subsequently produced in three parts: he hopes the audience have had genuine laugh, they've enjoyed the show, and then he thanks them for being wonderful. Isolated applause begins in the subsequent micro pause, but turns into a burst of audience applause in overlap with Tony's "cheers" and theatrical bow (lines 6 & 7; see image). Notice after a 1.8 second pause and the recycling of "cheers", Tony again pauses for just over 2.0 seconds before starting a new turn at talk. He uses the discourse marker "now" that overlaps with the applause. This discourse marker projects a shift in action orientation (Aijmer, 2002; Schiffrin, 1987). Indeed, there occurs a topical progression to overt talk about money donations.

By looking at another Tony show we can see that the applause occurs in almost the same place in the sequence of talk, using a similar list of three:

Extract 5.13.

(TR = Tony; A = Audience)

1 an' I want to thank each and
2 every one of you for being a part of my show today (.)
3 from the bottom of my heart (.) I hope you've had a
4 genuine laugh (.) you're impressed by the trick (0.2) and
5 you've enjoyed the show as much as I've enjoyed bringing
6 it to you (.) thank you for being a wonderful crowd (.)
7 [cheers (1.0) thank you (0.4) thank you guys (0.6) thank
8 A: [XX
9 | (7.0)-
10 T: you (0.6) now ladies and gentlemen I'm very proud] of the
11 A: XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-]
12 |]
13 T: fact (.) that the only way I survive (.) the only people
14 who pay me (.) are you the people who watch my show

Not only does audience applause immediately precede payment talk, but it also comes at the end of Tony setting out his motivations/reasons/beliefs for performing. In this way, by eliciting audience applause, Tony is able to have the audience affiliate with his rationale for performing and then use that affiliation as a secure platform on which to launch into donations talk.

Returning to Conrad:

Extract 5.14.

(CR = Conrad; A = Audience)

1 C: thank you (0.8) <have I made you laugh here t'day?
2 A: YEA:::::H
3 C: thank you ladies and gentlemen I love what I do for a
4 living .h I travel around the world .h I gather people
5 around me .h I make them laugh and smile .h the reason I
6 do this .h is because I believe in one thing very
7 strongly [(0.3) I believe .h that a
8 AM: [what's that?
9 C: world with more laughter (0.7) is a better world (0.9)



11 A: WOO:::
 12 xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx [Xxx-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x]
 13 |—————(5.2)—————|
 14 C: [if (.) we gather together and] we laugh
 15 (.) we can't hate each other .h we can't have stupid wars
 16 .h killing hundreds and thousands of people .h ladies and
 17 gentlemen (.) the sad news is (0.4) no one (0.3) pays me
 18 (0.2) to do this job

Conrad's delivery of his beliefs comes persuasively packaged in a "headline-punchline" rhetorical format (Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986, pp. 128-129), where "I believe .h that a world with more laughter" (lines 7 & 9) is prefaced by an announcement of holding that belief ("I believe in one thing very strongly"). Conrad then produces the interrogatively formatted "whatta you reckon?" (A). This isn't information seeking in the sense that he is attempting to find out the status of the audience's beliefs. Rather, the audience is being invited to respond and support Conrad's point of view (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). The invitation for the audience to provide an affirmative response is further pursued by the simultaneous use of an open arm gesture (line 10). Furthermore, agreement is presented as the preferred response (Pomerantz, 1984), as a result of the way that Conrad builds his belief as one that is hard to disagree with. In turn, the audience respond with cheers and applause (rather than a yes/no response) in support. Conrad then uses an elaboration on why laughter makes a better world to segue into money talk.

This move also features in another Conrad show:

Extract 5.15.

(CR = Conrad; A = Audience)

1 C: thank you (.) have I made you laugh here today
 2 A: YE:::::S
 3 C: thank you (.) ladies and gentlemen I love what I do for a
 4 living .h I travel around the world I gather people
 5 around me .h I make them laugh and smile .h the reason I
 6 do it is because I believe in one thing .h a world with
 7 more laughter (0.4) is a better world (0.6)
 8 [>whatta you reckon<
 9 A: [x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
 10 C: [if we (0.2)
 11 A: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx-x-x-x-x-x-x-x]
 12 |—————|

Much like Tony, Conrad receives a display of affiliation from his audience at a critical moment. It secures the audience's support of the preceding talk about reasons/beliefs/motivations.

Finally, turning to J-P:

Extract 5.16.

(Taken from extract 5.10) (JP = J-P; A = Audience)

```
1      JP:  >tell 'em about J-P Koala the mad axe guy from Australia<
2          (.) >maybe they'll laugh maybe they won't< (.) it's the
3          best I can do for this world (.) my life is dedicated to
4          it (.) I hope you enjoyed my show
5          ((nods head))
6      A:  xxxxxxxxxxx[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx-x-x-x-]
7          |-(2.6)—| [ |—————(5.0)—————|
8      JP:  [err
9          ((waves to halt applause))
10     JP:  money
11     A:  hHHHHhhhh[h
12     JP:  [seriously (0.2) this is my living (0.2) this is
13          my life (0.2) I'm not being paid by anyone to be here
```

Earlier, I said that J-P explicitly mentions money in the preliminary (extract 5.10, line 2). This is introduced as part of announcing two things that he has to say to his audience. Note the way that J-P defuses the mention of money as potentially problematic: he purposefully holds back from talking again, allowing a 2.0 second pause to emerge (extract 5.10, line 2). He then produces subsequent humorous talk that treats the pause as an absent audience response. This elicits affiliative laughter that goes some way to mitigating the possible problem of having mentioned money in the first place (see Mulkay et al., 1993). In this way J-P is able to delicately put the matter of money on the agenda, as he sets out his reasons/motivations (for a comparable method see Shay in extract 5.1). At the end of this talk (now shown in extract 5.16 above), J-P produces a list of three (lines 2-4), followed by a nod of the head toward his audience. These moves elicit a 7.0 second burst of applause (lines 6 & 7). As with Conrad and Tony, the applause is supportive of the performer's prior talk, but it also gets used to move into explicit talk about money. J-P then does something particularly neat with the applause—he indicates for applause to be curtailed through a hand wave and the trouble marker “err” (line 8). This is followed by the announcement “money” (line 10). By curtailing applause, J-P displays an apparent discomfort with accepting the audience's appreciation (Atkinson, 1985). Of course, it becomes apparent that that is because “money” is now going to be talked about. Having earlier stated this (extract 5.10, line 2), J-P can reintroduce talking about money as something that shouldn't take anybody by surprise—it isn't news. Moreover, because he has already topicalised it, he can simply announce it—“money”. This time the audience *does* laugh, and, careful to make sure that that this response doesn't undermine the preliminary work and upcoming request for money, J-P begins his talk with “seriously” (line 12).

To summarise: the three discussed performers deliver highly scripted and

precisely structured preliminary money talk sequences. These are designed to pursue audience affiliation as a precursor to requesting money donations. There is a difference to be duly noted between the way that Tony and J-P get applause and the way that Conrad gets applause: Tony and J-P *elicit* applause through rhetorically formatted talk that is designed for what Atkinson (1984a) called “claptrap”. In contrast, Conrad *solicits* applause through an agreement-seeking interrogative. The significance of this subtle difference might be appreciated when considering the possible importance of how a response can be produced. In a paper discussing what mobilises a response, Stivers and Rossano (2010) note how speakers in ordinary conversation can design their talk using a number of turn-design features that in increasing combination constrain the recipient to respond. The general point they make is that if employing a full range of turn-design features is more likely to mobilise a response then why do speakers not do this on every occasion? Stivers and Rossano suggest that this comes down to how far a speaker wishes to constrain a speaker to respond where, of course, there are occasions when a volunteered rather than coerced response is preferable. This may well be something to consider with these three street performers where, in keeping the pursuit of the affiliative applause under the surface, J-P and Tony can have each round of applause come off as if it was entirely the choice of the audience. In that way the performers can avoid any suspicion of cynicism, particularly because money *is* the next thing to be talked about. On the other hand, for Conrad the advantage of directly soliciting a response mitigates the chance of the cue for applause misfiring. We are now getting into the very subtle differences between the design and implementing of hat speeches, but I do think it is important to try and bring out the different fine-grained practices of execution in order to appreciate the craft.

So far, I have considered three features of preliminary talk that occur in the hat speech. I will now go on to examine the second half of the hat speech where money is explicitly requested and audiences are instructed about how much to give.

5.5. Money talk

Much like the preliminary talk, when requesting money donations from the audience performers draw on a recurrent set of components. These are designed to handle who gives a donation and how much, although neither are unproblematic in their mentioning. I will deal with these in turn.

5.5.1. Formulating “who”

Although many audience members have a good idea that they will eventually be asked to give something (Mulkay & Howe, 1994), the performer cannot leave this

as an assumption and has to make precisely clear “who”. That also includes making it clear that the performer is not paid by anybody else:

Extract 5.17.

(C = Conrad; A = Audience)

- 1 C: if (.) we gather together and] we laugh (.) we can't
2 hate each other .h we can't have stupid wars .h killing
3 hundreds and thousands of people .h ladies and gentlemen
4 (.) the sad news is (0.4) no one (0.3) pays me (0.2) to
5 do this job



7 A: aAW::::::::: [:::::



Conrad transitions from the preliminary sequence to explicit donation talk by announcing that he is not paid (line 4-5). After a 0.6 second pause, the audience provides a mock sympathetic response, and Conrad responds with laughter. These three turns are doing some important donation talk work: first, note the way that Conrad produces this announcement as “news” (and recall in Extract 5.1 how Shay sought to limit such information being heard as news). He characterises it as sad and then delivers it in three parts, inserting a significant pause between each part. This delivery is quite different from the talk that preceded it. Indeed formatting the news in three parts strongly projects the end of his turn and a cue for an audience response. Second, during the 0.6 second silence Conrad deliberately refrains from

talking and instead produces an exaggerated “sad face” (A), which he shows to his audience. Evidently, the audience recognises that a response is required and, furthermore, that it is not a serious one. Insofar as it is “mock”, the audience provide a “sequentially appropriate object” (Sacks, 1974, p.351), but one that is empty of genuine sympathy. Third, Conrad laughs off the audience response (line 8) and in so doing he shows that his news wasn’t to be taken seriously—at least as sad and requiring a genuine show of sympathy (in any case this would be problematic to display with the limited possibility of audience responses). Indeed, consider how such sympathy is typically associated with other kinds of giving money in the street—for example, begging. This is something that Conrad wants to avoid and so the laughter, in effect, confirms that no genuine show of sympathy was expected. This is more explicitly evidenced at the same part of the hat speech in another show:

Extract 5.18.

(C = Conrad; A = Audience)

```

1      C:   we don't care where people
2          come from (.) we don't have time for hate and wars .h I
3          believe in that (.) but the sad new is (.) no one pays me
4          (.) to do this job
5      A:   h-h-h
6          A:::[:::WW
7      C:   [hehehe (.) ladies and gentlemen (.) you know
8          what's going on (.) I am a professional street
9          entertainer (.) I am not a beggar (.) I am a professional
10         (.) beggar
11      A:   hhhhhhhhhhh
```

Following the mock audience sympathy (line 6), this time Conrad accredits his audience to “know what’s going on” (lines 7-8). He then makes a serious category distinction of being a professional street entertainer rather than a beggar, before moving to humorously collapse the two categories into one (“professional (.) beggar”). Again, by poking fun at the problematic conflation of categories of street performing and begging, Conrad is able to reject any similarity.

Returning to extract 5.17, Conrad manages to achieve the explicit mention of money donations and have the mentioning of it defused as problematic (in a not too dissimilar method to J-P in extract 5.10). In what follows, Conrad names those who do in fact pay him—his audience (line 9). Note that in the first instance Conrad selects “pay” to describe the action of his audience giving him money. He then humorously elaborates on this to include both those audience members who’ve enjoyed themselves and those who have not (note the action of giving money is now re-described as donation (line 12)). This does two things: first it now makes explicit

After returning to the topic of money, J-P defers from specifically naming his audience members as the ones who pay until an extended sequence of talk is completed about who *doesn't* pay him:

(JP = J-P; A = Audience)

Prior to stating that he is not paid, J-P characterises performing as his “living” and his “life” (lines 3-4). By describing performing as his living, J-P invokes another banal category that is shared with his audience members who work. This is done in a similar way to Conrad’s choice of description of performing as his job, which normalises performing. J-P then produces a common humorous “stock line” about

who doesn't pay him. This is formatted as a list of three, and he receives audience laughter in response. The subsequent comment about having "never been on the dole" throughout his career displays a further orientation to the sensitivity of possible negative inferences about street performing (and affirms J-P the category status as someone who *works* for a living). After another joke, J-P then specifies his job of making people laugh—which of course he has just done in his preceding talk. He thus produces strong evidence for his request for money from his audience (specifically those that have laughed) that follows in the subsequent turn.

Last, in the following extract Tony provides a different formulation of *who* pays:

Extract 5.20.

(TR = Tony; A = Audience)

1	T:	cheers (2.2) now ladies and] gentlemen I'm incredibly
2		proud of
3	A:	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX-x-x-x-x-x-x-]
4		—————(3.2)—————
5	T:	The fact that the only way that I survive (0.2) is in the
6		true tradition of street theatre (.) the only people who
7		pay me are you the people who stop and watch my show (.)
8		so in that tradition I stand here proudly at the end of
9		my show (.) with my hat out (0.2) I proudly ask you to
10		come forward and drop something in it by way of thank you

First, notice that Tony takes a distinctly positive approach to the grounds on which he is requesting money: it is "in the true tradition of street theatre". That, of course, means that requesting money from his audience is not something down to personal choice, but part of a longstanding cultural practice (and is mitigating Tony's personal agency in requesting money donations). Furthermore, Tony is "proud" of this tradition. Notice also the modest "the only way that I survive" that qualifies donating as something fundamental to his existence, and limits the possible perception that he might live extravagantly off the back of performing. As we saw in extract 5.18, Tony describes the action of giving money as to "pay". He then formulates the people who pay as "you the people who stop and watch" (line 7). Similar to J-P, rather than simply name the audience, the people who pay are described by specific participatory actions. Tony's description is especially inclusive in that he doesn't limit those who pay to only those who've enjoyed themselves. In fact, he doesn't limit those who pay to individuals who might categorise themselves as audience members—simply those who have stopped and watched (which could also describe more transient spectators who disqualify themselves on the basis of

having not clapped, cheered and laughed).

In this section I have evidenced that another recurring feature of money talk is how performers will attend to the *who* of donations. Performers will often first announce that they are *not paid* as a move that allows them to go on to specify just *who* does. But describing oneself as someone who is “not paid” is not entirely an unproblematic thing to do; it risks bringing into relevance pejorative categories that could undercut a performer’s legitimate claim to be paid for their labour. As Mulkay and Howe (1994) say, *who* includes those who’ve laughed (although note how a performer will use the sequencing of humour / laughter responses to make formulating that relationship interactionally explicit). However, perhaps recognising that “not laughing” might provide some grounds (or “moral wiggle room” (Pruckner & Sausgruber, 2013, p.663)) for resistance, performers will also select more functional descriptions (e.g., “the people who have stopped and watched”) to capture as many people as possible.

The examples also evidenced how performers can use “pay” rather than “donate” to describe the activity of putting the money in the hat. In extract 5.17 the performer describes giving money as both “pay” and “donation”. While this might be regarded as an inconsistent, or indeed incompatible use, if we treat these descriptions as practical resources then we can see how “pay” does certain work in constructing giving money as part of the legitimate expectation for someone’s labour, while donation also constructs the activity as voluntary.

In the final section, I will examine the other substantive matter after the “who”—the “how much”. Again, this work is often elaborate; performers pursue non-trivial sums of money whilst also attending to the fact that the majority of audience members will, in the end, give modest or nominal sums of money. This work is done through a number of creative ways.

5.5.2. Suggesting “how much”

A typical move to first introduce “how much” is to use humour and suggest an unrealistic sum of money before moving on to more realistic possibilities:

Extract 5.21.

(CR = Conrad; A = Audience)

- 1 C: if you don't know how much to give (.) that's okay, (.) I
2 can help you out [(0.8) the average donation (.) is fifty
3 A: [hhh
4 C: pounds each
5 A: hHHH
6 C: shut up the Americans might believe it=[alright (.)
7 A: [hhh
8 C: ladies and gentlemen (.) if you've enjoyed my show (0.2)
9 I have to pay a lot of money to get here (.) I do need to
10 go home (.) if I don't make enough money here (0.2) I'm
11 gonna stay (.) h and I'm gonna breed with the locals
12 [heh .h
13 A: [hh
14 C: and you're gonna have a whole bunch of kids running
15 around going "crikey crikey crikey"
16 A: hhh
17 C: ladies and gentlemen (.) you're here with a group or a
18 family (.) I think a good donation could be ten pounds



- 26 C: ladies and gentlemen (.) five pounds isn't much (.) it
27 means a lot to me (.) if you can't afford that (.) then a
28 couple of gold coins (.) if you cannot afford (.) a
29 couple of gold coins (.) then please keep your money (.)
30 you need it more than I do o(h)kay (.) don't give me
31 copper (.) or ten or twenty cents (.) just come up (.)
32 and say thank you (.) and I will say thanks for watching
33 (.) is that fair enough
34 A: yea:::h=
35 C: =if you have no money (.) there is an ATM over [there,
36 A: [hHHHh

The audience treats Conrad's offer to help out (line 2) with the humour it deserves (line 3). Indeed, Conrad suggests a high sum of money and receives further laughter. Next, what apparently starts out as a fairly sensible ground for requesting non-trivial sums of money (line 8) finishes as a joke. Conrad then sets out what he thinks as a fair amount of money, and this is organised and differentiated through social units: groups should pay more than individuals. Note that both sums specified are denominations of paper money. On both occasions Conrad prefaces the amount with "I think a good donation could be" (line 18 and (A)).

In this way, Conrad *suggests* rather than *asserts* how he values the performance; specifically, "I think" makes what counts as a "good amount" opinion rather than fact. This provides room for the audience to assign the value "good" to other amounts of money, and thus works to prevent alienating audience members who have differently valued the performance. Crucially, however, this is now relative to the performer's own assessment of certain quantities of money. When donations are deposited into the hat they are now analysable against how the performer has assessed them (where a "good" donation also provides for the possibility of other assessments, including "bad", "fantastic", etc.).

Even so, five or ten-pounds are non-trivial sums and could prove sufficient grounds for certain individuals to walk away. In this respect, Conrad deliberately stops talking (B) and allows almost a 3.0 second pause to develop. Toward the end of this pause he looks around his audience (C & D), which gets some laughter response (E). The exaggerated looking draws attention to the silence as not produced through an absence of his talk, but in fact the audience's. The audience laughter might be regarded as an attempt at a candidate repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977)—of course, nothing funny was said. The point of Conrad's withholding of talk then becomes clear when he says "no one thinks funny anymore do they"—it pokes fun at the fact that as soon as money is mentioned the audience have stopped laughing (although it's entirely Conrad's creation). The animated way Conrad produces this (particularly through the waving of his hands) (F) intends for this to be received as humorous, and indeed *is* in the subsequent laughter response. This is a neat move because Conrad has established a guide for valuing donations that pursues non-trivial amounts, but then defuses the tension with humour. This talk is followed by the final piece of hat speech, which is non-humorous (lines 26-34).

Conrad begins this final part by contrasting an objective assessment of five pounds ("not much") with a further assessment; this time it is framed around what it "means" to him. The possible price of the show is then successively brought down,

Turning now to another example, J-P moves into *how much* talk in precisely the same way as Conrad:

(JP = J-P; A = Audience)

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16 A: hhhh[h
 17 JP: [don't laugh too hard ha
 18 A: hh
 19 JP: haha (.) at the end of the day (.) if you can afford a
 20 tenner (.) thank you very much (.) but this is for
 21 everyone (0.2) five quid (.) is a good donation (.) if
 22 you can't afford a fiver (.) I understand (.) three or
 23 four (.) is fine (.) if I did it in a bar (.) I'd reckon
 24 you'd buy me a beer (.) buy me a beer (.) if you don't
 25 know how much a beer is in Edinburgh (.) it's twenty
 26 pounds
 27 A: hHHHh[h
 28 JP: [SHUT UP (.) I'M TRYING () (.) >seriously guys<
 29 (.) give what you can (.) if you've got no money (.) I
 30 understand (.) come back (.) watch me (.) as many times
 31 as you want (.) but don't walk away at the end (.) come
 32 up (.) say thank you (.) I will say (.) thanks for
 33 watching (.) you feel good I feel good (.) only job in
 34 the world (.) where we can do it (.) beautiful way to
 35 finish the show (.) yes
 36 A: YEA::H
 37 JP: w- (.) I j- just looked around and you are all going (.)
 38 "yeah we'll just say thanks"
 39 A: hHhhhhhhh[h
 40 JP: [if you can afford it (.) be honest (.) help me
 41 bring this to other people (.) five or ten quid (.) if
 42 you can afford it (.) because o' twenty years of my life
 43 (.) worth doing this (.) enough about the money (.) I
 44 hate talking about it (.) I just can't go to my landlord
 45 and go [yay [(.) nice flat
 46 [(claps))
 47 A: [hhh
 48 JP: if the world worked like that (.) I'd perform for free
 49 (.) every single day (.) let's finish this (.) very
 50 quickly (.) two big tricks (.) thank you (.) for being
 51 one of the best audiences (.) in the world (.) you guys
 52 have been gorgeous (.) thank you very much
 53 [(.) let's finish it
 54 A: [-x-xxx]
 55 |-----(6.0)-----|

After naming the non-serious donation price of fifty pounds (lines 3 - 4), J-P proceeds to undertake the more serious work of how much to give. He does this through the use of, what I shall call, "comparables": first, he suggests that if his audience members were to go to a Fringe show, "it's ten pounds to get through the door" (lines 9-10). He then contrasts this with his own show in terms of affordability. His show is pitched as non-exclusive. Notice that the common sense logic of the comparable is produced through describing both events with the category class "show" (Sacks, 1972b). In this way, J-P is able to invoke what is common to both (i.e., being shows) as grounds for comparing what is distinct. The two things stated include how Fringe (indoor) shows require you to pay before you see the show, and the price will not be affordable for everyone. By contrast, audience members first get to watch his show before donating. The joke about

paying ten pounds in advance for a show that could turn out as “crap” compared with first finding out that J-P’s show *is* crap is carefully managed by J-P’s reply to audience laughter: “don’t laugh too hard” (line 17).

J-P then goes on to specify donation amounts for his show. Similar to Conrad, he starts at ten pounds. However, given that he has just pointed to (indoor) Fringe shows being ten pounds and possibly unaffordable, and therefore exclusionary, he proceeds to lower the price (“but this is for everyone”). He assesses five pounds as a “good donation”. Perhaps without the prefatory “I think” (see extract 5.21 above), J-P states objectively how five pounds (or the more informal “five quid”) is to be valued. Again, the reason for not giving this particular amount of money is predicated on affordability (lines 21-22). Moreover, in such circumstances J-P offers an empathic response (“I understand”). This has relevance for his own case of receiving donations. As in Conrad’s talk, the price is then dropped further to “three or four”. This drop in price is accompanied by a downgrading in value from “good” to “fine” (line 23). A further comparable is used, this time it’s with regard to how the performance can be valued: in a bar, the price of the show would be worth a beer. Here, the use of humour about the expensive price of beer allows J-P to continue to push for a higher price.

The subsequent chunk of talk is oriented towards those members who might not be able to afford the price of a beer. J-P also acts to head off merely saying thank you as a “get out” for paying with a recurrent counter-response (lines 37-38). The orientation to the possible opportunity to avoid paying is also evidenced in the subsequent “if you can afford it (.) be honest”. Thereafter, J-P grounds the reason for paying as not for his own personal benefit, but to permit him to continue performing for other crowds (lines 40-41) (a theme that is also pursued in closing the show). He then reintroduces the preferred amounts he is pursuing (five or ten pounds) followed by a justification owing to the amount of time he has been performing. In a final move, J-P begins to move out of the hat speech, but this is momentarily suspended as he produces a stock line that is designed to show that he cannot live on applause alone (lines 43-46). This line/ demonstration is a particularly effective way of showing the audience that applause is an insufficient means of “paying your way”.

To complete the trio, the following extract comes from one of Tony’s shows:

Extract 5.23.

(T = Tony; A = Audience)

1 T: The fact that the only way that I survive (0.2) is in the
2 true tradition of street theatre (.) the only people who
3 pay me are you the people who stop and watch my show (.)
4 so in that tradition I stand here proudly at the end of
5 my show (.) with my hat out (0.2) I proudly ask you to
6 come forward and drop something in it by way of thank you
7 (.) now I don't care how large or small you decide that
8 donation should be (.) but if you could fold it neatly
9 first
10 A: hhhh[h
11 T: [I'll be rapt (.) and if you're American (0.8)
12 wondering what a good street show in Scotland is worth
13 (.) I'll help you out (0.8) it's fifty pounds
14 A: hhhhhh[h
15 T: [shut up they don't know
16 A: hhhhh=
17 T: =they elected Bush twice
18 A: hHHHHhhhhhhh
19 T: now guys (.) I can't tell you what it's worth to you but
20 I can tell you what it means to me (.) a five pound note
21 is fantastic (.) it's generous (.) it tells me you
22 enjoyed the show had a genuine laugh (.) and you
23 appreciate what we're trying to do with street theatre
24 (.) some people think it's worth more (0.2) and I'm
25 humbled by that (0.2) but if you can't afford a small
26 note five or even ten pounds (.) then a couple of gold
27 coins two three or four pounds (.) buy me a coffee (.) or
28 buy me a beer (0.2) but ladies and gentlemen (.) if you
29 have no money (.) then all it takes is a thank you and a
30 handshake (.) let me know you enjoyed the show (.) but
31 what you can afford is a huge round of applause for these
32 three [people (.) who gave me the greatest gift of all
33 A: [-x-
34 |
35 T: (.) forty minutes of their lives=guys I genuinely
36 A: xx
37 |
38 T: appreciate I hope you've had a bit of fun (.) Gordon
39 A: xx
40 | (9.2) |
41 T: thanks man (you've been an absolute godsend) and
42 A: xx
43 |
44 T: sweetheart] (.) you are gorgeous (.) call me
45 x-x-x-x-x-]
46 |

Again, Tony uses the "fifty pounds" joke as a first move. He then begins the serious talk about "how much": he names the lower price of five pounds. He also makes the distinction between how the audience might value a particular donation and how he values a donation (lines 19-20), and then describes and evaluates the prospect of receiving five pounds (lines 21-23); it is "fantastic", "generous" and signals "enjoyment". Thus, an audience member can be clear on how giving five

pounds will be evaluated. Of course, this also provides information about how donations more than and less than five pounds will be evaluated by Tony.

Notice also that in the move to bring in the possibility for lower donations he does in fact name ten pounds as a possible amount, but it is inserted quite discreetly (line 26). Similar to Conrad, Tony switches description when it comes to naming the lowest price of the show (“a couple of gold coins”) followed by reverting to talking about three or four “pounds”. He also uses the comparables “coffee” and “beer” as equivalents of what such a small donation might buy (items which we would not normally resent paying such prices for).

Bearing in mind these three performers deploy quite similarly organised hat speeches, it is easy to overlook just how thorough they until they are compared with examples of “how much” from other performers’ hat speeches:

Extract 5.24.

(RT = Tom; A = Audience)

```
1      RT:   that's] okay don't worry about it (.) ladies and
2          -x-x-x]
3          _____|
4          gentlemen this is what I do for a living (.) I am a
5          professional street performer (.) I'm also one of the
6          worlds only cycling street performers (.) that is my
7          crazy bike (.) this is actually a trailer (.) the whole
8          show weighs about fifty kilograms (.) and I have a big
9          hill to take it up on the way home (.) so please remember
10         (.) at the end of the show (.) that paper money (.) is
11         much lighter (.) [than coins
12     A:           [h-hhhh[HHHHhh
13     RT:           [okay,
14     RT:   seriously guys I'm not paid by the Police (.) or the
15           council or any other criminal organisations (.) it's just
16           you guys (.) and if you've enjoyed the show (.) please
17           take some money (.) put it in my hat (.) thank you (.)
18           °okay° (.) err if you don't have any money that's fine
19           (.) I know how that is (0.6) shut up
20     A:   [hhhh
21     RT:   [err
22     RT:   no I know how that is (.) there's a bank machine over
23           there and a bank machine over there and I'll wait right
24           here OKAY (.) good >right< >let's do it< (.) right ladies
25           and gentlemen ARE YOU READY FOR THE GRAND FINALE?
26     A:   YEAH:::::
```

The only reference to *how much* in Tom's speech is made via the joke that paper money is lighter than coins (lines 9-11). No further details about specific amounts are given. Note also that he doesn't tell his audience what various sums mean to him, or what they might mean in general (e.g., “A fiver is great”), and there is no use of comparables either in relation to the show, or how else one might thank

the performer (e.g., buying a beer/ coffee). As such, the audience is provided with substantially less information about how they should value the performance or donations, and, therefore, how much money they should give.

Consider the final example of payment talk from Raffi:

Extract 5.25.

(SD = Raffi; A = Audience)

1 SD: yeah you're not laughing now are you
2 A: hh
3 SD: no seriously I think the show you have just seen and th-
4 what you're gonna witness now (.) is worth (0.2) twenty
5 pounds of your money (1.2) okay you- yeah seriously (0.2)
6 really (.) you're gonna see some of the indoor shows here
7 (.) you're gonna pay ten fifteen quid (.) and they're not
8 gonna be as funny as me (.) so I think (0.2) what I
9 really want (.) whatever you wanna give me (0.2) but it
10 really doesn't <matter> (.) listen carefully it doesn't
11 matter how much money you're gonna give me at the end of
12 the show it just doesn't matter (0.2) as long as it's
13 bills
14 A: hhh
15 SD: okay (.) seriously (.) guys if you can afford twenty
16 pounds (0.4) I'm your man (.) a five or ten (.) is good
17 for you (.) that's perfect (.) If you don't have any
18 money (.) that's okay the show is free for you that's the
19 street (.) but if you can afford it (1.0) please do (.)
20 ladies and gentlemen=((turns music on)) here we go

Raffi follows the general methods of naming a high price (twenty pounds) before introducing successively lower amounts, but we can see certain differences with the previous extracts: first, it is not clear what these different amounts of money mean to the performer—how *he* values them; audience members are told that if they give twenty, then, 'I'm your man' (line 16), and five or ten is "good for you". These are somewhat unclear formulations of how to value the performance when compared alongside the straightforward assessments that J-P, Tony and Conrad provide. Second, the show is free for those audience members who have no money, but the audience is not told that they should come and shake the performer's hand. This allows considerably more wiggle room to avoid having to donate, if individuals aren't required to visit the performer before they leave. Third, the lowest mentioned price of the show is five pounds. When Raffi brings down the price of the show he jumps from five pounds to free. There is no possible option for "a couple of gold coins" (unlike in extract 5.24 where "paper is lighter than coins" at least implicitly provides the possibility of coins to be given). This potentially alienates audience members who can only give a few pounds.

In this final section I have examined the final component of the hat speech—the substantive matter of talking to the audience about how the performance should be valued. There is a recurring procedure by which performers first introduce higher sums of money, and then successively lowers the price of the show. The way this is done closely resembles the method of “selling price series” used by market pitchers (Pinch & Clark, 1986), where the difference between the each next price announced is exponentially reduced. This allows the possibility for more prices to be mentioned. There is a difference, however, insofar as the market pitcher announces the amounts to arrive at a pre-determined price; the performer, by contrast, establishes a range of possible prices but these are differently evaluated.

In that regard, the performer provides the audience with a point of reference for how certain quantities of money can, and will, be assessed. Thus, audience members are able to inspect the contents of their pockets, purses and wallets and then analyse what giving a particular quantity of donation will mean. Thus, the value of a donation is worked up as in reference to the performance—five pounds isn’t simply five pounds; it is, for example, “good”, “fantastic” and “generous” while “three or four is fine”. But it is quantity of the money donation that is assessed in these cases, and not the performance.

The performers also provide a range of donation possibilities so as to avoid alienating audience members who only intend to offer nominal donations, while also not foreclosing the possibility that some audience members might be intending to give non-trivial amounts. Unlike the market pitcher, whose sale strategy is to convey to their customers that they are getting a bargain by reducing the price while emphasising the quality of the goods, the circle show performer has to produce the lowering of price on the grounds of affordability. This is because adopting a similar strategy of a “bargain price” could dramatically reduce how much each individual decides to pay.

5.6. Conclusion

As the first of three empirical examinations of the practical work undertaken by circle show performers, in this chapter I have sought to examine how performers build and deploy the hat speech. This involved examining “preliminary” component and the subsequent “money talk” component. The general aim of this part of the circle show was to work up giving money donations as the preferred reciprocal response in relation to having enjoyed the performance.

The analysis demonstrated that in the preliminary component performers clear the way for explicitly talking about money. In this part of the hat speech the circle show performer is concerned with producing a moral obligation that audience

members who have watched and enjoyed the performance *ought* to donate at the end of the performance.

The analysis discussed builds on the previous work of Mulkay and Howe (1994) and Clark and Pinch (1995), but significantly deepens our understanding about the sequential organisation of that work. For example, I have demonstrated that a recurring part of this project is to pursue “mass audience responsiveness” using a similar technique to market pitchers, explicated by Clark and Pinch (1988, 1995; Pinch & Clark, 1986). The performer usually does this by asking the audience if they’ve “enjoyed the show”. The YNI formatting solicits a preferred “yes” response. A “yes” response is affiliative, and as such is treated as donation implicative by the performer. The performers built these sections with the specific project of having the audience witness-ably commit their appreciation and support for the performance. Another significant part of this work was in the way the performer described the performance as a social good. The performance was something that was produced for the benefit of others, it was gifted—for example, to spread laughter and make people happy. These are honourable reasons for performing, but, as the performers themselves say, they do not pay the bills. The preliminary work was thus designed to ensure, through the sequential production of moral obligation, that audience members should reciprocate. Significantly, the audience collaborates in the production of this work.

In the second section of analysis, I demonstrated how, having worked up moral obligation, performers methodically formulate the “who” and “how much” of donations. This involved the performers telling the audience that they weren’t paid (further adding to the performance as a social good), and that it was in fact the audience who are expected to do this. Interestingly, it was here that giving money could be talked up as “payment”, which established the performance as legitimate (in conjunction with talking about the performance as a job). This part of the hat speech also involved the performers establishing how they would assess particular quantities. Donating was also transformed as a way of providing an assessment, of how an audience member shows how they have valued the performance. A further interesting observation was how audience members were not given the option of walking away without reciprocating some kind of appreciation (i.e., through money or a handshake). There is no possibility to simply walk away if one hasn’t enjoyed the show, and that possibility (of no enjoyment) is foreclosed in the preliminary work

Additionally, and as Mulkay and Howe (1994) so nicely observe, humour is an important feature of the hat speech. It is a “resource” with which to get things done.

However, I have shown that presence / absence of humour is connected to the kind of thing that the performer wants to achieve. For example, humour was absent when a performer was talking about their reasons and motivations for performing. Humour could have undermined a performer's project of establishing the performance as produced for the benefit of others, and having the audience affiliate with those projects. On the other hand, humour was used when talking about money. Performers oriented to the request for money as potentially troublesome, and I have shown some of the sophisticated ways that performers can design their interactions with the audience to remedy this. It is in this orientation to the troublesome talk of money that we see how the performer has to handle what was, until then, a certain ambiguity about the performance—i.e. whether or not the performance was free.

Chapter 6

Maintaining interactional control: closing the circle show

6.1. Introduction

This chapter examines how circle show performers “close” their performances. The aim here is to explicate how circle show performers manage and organise, in concert with their audiences, moving from the end of the performance into the subsequent donation activity. “Closing” comprises a critical bridge between a performer’s prior hat speech talk and the donation activity. In a similar way, this chapter acts as a bridge between the adjacently prior and next chapters.

The thing that makes closing an especially interesting phenomenon to analyse in the circle show is that bringing the performance to a close has to be organised so that the audience does not walk away; instead, the audience is required to remain co-present until it is time to approach the performer and deposit some money into the hat. In this regard, the circle show video recordings captured the way that the performers carefully crafted closing so that co-presence was accomplished as ongoingly relevant. That is, audience members were discouraged from walking away and instead shown there was “something more to happen”. The video recordings point toward a recurrent organisation of closing, notwithstanding the subtle differences between the different circle show performances.

This chapter begins by drawing attention to “closing” in the circle show as a critical moment for moving toward the donation activity. The argument is made for an analysis of the sequential organisation of the end of the performance. Such an analysis provides understanding about how the circle show performances were brought to an end, and how a transition into the donation activity happened. This is followed by an example of a complete closing sequence, followed by an identification of four distinct circle show features. The subsequent analyses then discuss each feature in turn, and draw on multiple examples of performances by the same and different performers. This is followed by some concluding observations about what new understanding has been provided in relation to how performers set

up donations as the next, and final, activity in the circle show.

6.2. Towards an interactional analysis of closing in circle show performances

Despite the modest amount of street performing literature, relatively little has been written about the organisational work of bringing a circle show to a close. Hints of its significance are evident, however. For example, Harrison-Pepper's (1990) description of Tony Vera's mime performance captures the closing moments as the fiery finale leads in to a prompted show of audience appreciation and then a swift move into donating. The success of Vera's show is evidenced by the way that the audience *waited* to donate before walking away. The skill involved in this achievement is marked by Harrison-Pepper's description about fellow Washington Square Park performer, and turtle-racer, Mitchell Cohen:

Rather than immediately converting the audience's enthusiasm and participation into a profitable pitch, Cohen—for reasons I could not identify—preferred to hold the audience's attention for one more comic routine. (p.90)

Harrison-Pepper recounts how audience members, satisfied by the delights of the show, simply "drifted away" (p.90). Interestingly, "converting the audience's enthusiasm" is also something picked up by Patricia Campbell (1981) when she writes:

A clever and profitable pitch has to be timed and worded just right. It must blend with the exhilaration of the applause for the finale and use that goodwill; a five-second drop in energy at the decisive peak can leave the performer with an empty hat. (p.219)

Performer Bim Mason (1992) explains that experienced performers will use a "comic lead-in" to donations, which draws attention to audience members around the edge of the circle attempting to walk away without giving something. Perhaps optimistically, Mason suggests these kind of clever post-finale pitches are not always required: "A really successful show doesn't need to employ these tactics. People actually queue up to give you money. In this case it's much better to stay in the centre and let them come to you" (p.98). Providing a sociological gloss, Mulkay and Howe (1994) characterise the performer's work of making final pitches as "reaffirming the audience's moral obligation to pay" (p.497). Their video analysis of the fire juggler "Andy Dexterous" describes how this was partly done through humorous "post-finale" talk that, as entertaining as it continued to be, impressed upon the audience that remuneration was required. Clearly, then, the closing of the

show is key moment when the performer can transform their hard work—of building a crowd, of producing an audience, of performing spectacular tricks, of delivering the “hat speech”, etc.—by encouraging as many audience members as possible to donate.

The collected video recordings of the circle show performers similarly indicated that closing the show was pivotal to retaining audience members and have them contribute a donation before walking away. With the benefit of watching recordings from multiple shows, and having examined these final moments in repeated fine grain detail, I propose that there is more to be said about the way that circle show performers carefully *craft* the closing of each show, and moreover, the methodic practices and procedures used “each next first time” (Rawls in Garfinkel, 2002, p.30). Whilst ultimately contingent upon a complex assemblage of performer, audience, setting, props, etc., the closings of circle show performances exhibit a recurrent and general order of organisation; performers maintain tight control over closing of the show such that, *pace* Mulkey and Howe (1994), payment doesn’t simply “emerge as the last act of the show” (p.497); rather, it is a concerted achievement of the performer’s and audience’s practical work. In that regard, it is helpful to consider some of the research on interactional closings within conversation analysis.

6.3. The closing problem

An interest in the “closing” of social interactions has been a staple topic for conversation analysts, researching both “ordinary” (Antaki, 2002; Button, 1987; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) and “institutional” talk-in-interaction (Davidson, 1978; Heath, 1986b; Neville, 2005; Robinson, 2001). As Antaki (2002) points out, while Schegloff and Sacks formally set out the “closing problem”, it was earlier discussed by Sacks (1992; April 19, Spring 1971) in his “Caller-Called” lecture. The closing problem is generated by the rules of conversational turn-taking, which only provide for an indefinite chain of turns (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). It is one of interlocutors being able to recognise that no further reciprocal turn-at-talk is expected. Interlocutors must “lift” the ongoing relevance of turn-transition so an absence of talk subsequently does not get recognised as “silence” *within* the conversation. As part of a “single conversation”, Schegloff and Sacks (1973) showed that interlocutors solve this problem through an exchange of pre-closing and terminating turns-at-talk. However, the significance of this work was not only in showing that the conclusion of an interaction is orderly (rather than haphazard), but that the order of organisation of closing is related to category identities internal to the interaction underway. In Sack’s (Sacks, 1992, pp.360-366) original example, caller and called

orient to the normal expectation that it is caller who should initiate closing. When the opposite occurs, various moral assessments can be made about called's conduct (e.g., they do not wish to speak with caller).

Researches on different arenas of talk have further elaborated how closing might get negotiated depending upon the institutional identities of the participants, and the particular interactional tasks underway. For example, Greatbatch (1988) has examined how, under programming time constraints that typically characterise the "live TV interview", interviewers normatively initiate closings (with turn distribution being asymmetrical). In a quite different interactional setting, Arminen (2001) shows that Alcoholics Anonymous speakers in closing must demonstrate the relevance of the "giving and receiving of support"—the so-called "rhetoric of gratitude"—whilst also orienting to a two-minute time limit; AA speakers have to try to finish within the time limit, whilst also not going under time. In both examples, the sequential ordering of closing is organised around a particular set of (institutional) problems and identities.

Schegloff and Sacks (1973) were chiefly concerned with understanding how interlocutors organise the closing of *conversation*. Toward the end of the paper they provide the observation that the closing of face-to-face interactions might well make relevant subsequent embodied actions. Heath (1985) brilliantly picked this up as part of his video studies of doctor-patient consultations. Heath demonstrated how the breaking of physical co-presence can be intimately connected to, and organised around, closing talk; patient's leave taking didn't happen once the interaction was closed, but was sensitive to topic completion at the consultation's end (whilst ongoingly revisable in light of topic expansion, re-opening, etc., (see Button, 1987)). More recent research by Broth and Mondada (2013) and vom Lehn (2013) have further expanded our understanding about the non-vocal embodied organisation of closing, and highlighted how "walking away" is not only made relevant by closing, but in some circumstances can actually be a *resource* for its accomplishment. Closing work beyond "talk" has also been expanded to consider the relevance of prosaic and material objects (Laurier, 2008; Ticca, 2012), as well as the social and material setting more broadly defined (LeBaron & Jones, 2002).

Thus, in expanding the closing problem to include face-to-face interactions, institutional activities, objects, multiple participants, the material setting, etc., we have come some distance from seeing closing as a neat conversational object consisting pairs of pre-closing and terminating utterances. Circle shows, of course, have their own particular social, spatial, and material arrangements that will greatly influence how closing the show gets organised. Moreover the practical matter of

audience members walking away—of breaking co-presence—has particular economic consequences for the performer. There is, then, potentially something new and interesting to learn about “closings” in respect of this kind of social interaction.

6.3.1. Closing in performance interactions

With regard to the interactional details of interest here, very little research has been undertaken around how performances of any kind are closed, even though attending (and leaving) shows is a culturally ubiquitous phenomenon. What we do know comes from Jason Rutter’s (1997) examination of the interactional achievement of live-stand up comedy. Using a large corpus of audio recordings, Rutter explicates a recurrent sequence of stand-up close-turns that are jointly produced by audience and comedian. The examination of such closing work is part of a more general investigation into the “order of stand-up” (p.281), whereby the comedian and audience collaborate in the doing of “live stand-up comedy”.

Extract 6.1.

([Extract CHAPTER 8-2: Ben Elton] p.247)

- 1 BE: .hh >Ladies ‘n’ gentlemen I gotta tell ya< (.) six nights at
2 Hammersmith am re::al proud. I hope ya enjoy:ed all the
3 new material .hh because I enjoyed doin it for you:.
4 I’d like to say thank you.
5 >My name’s Ben Elton.<
6 GOOD NIGHT!
7 Aud: xXXXXXXXXXXXXX
8 ((Whistles))
9 :
10 :
11 [Applause fades out on tape after 19 seconds]

The extract above illustrates a number of recurrent closing turn-types: the comedian comments on the audience’s enjoyment (lines 1-3), thanks the audience (line 4), signs-off (line 5), and finishes with an “exclamatory closing” (line 6). The audience, in turn, responds with final applause and whistles, which retroactively ratifies the performer’s closing talk (An absence of applause here would be hearable as “within the performance” (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), and would invite various assessments, e.g., “tough crowd”, “dying on stage”, etc.). Drawing some similarities with conversational closings, Rutter elaborates how the comedian uses a “pre-

closing turn” in final closing sequence (e.g., announcing the upcoming joke as the last), and a telling of the last joke (not shown here). This, perhaps, nicely illustrates the ubiquity of the “closing problem” across different kinds of “speech exchange system” (Sacks et al., 1974). Rutter also points out that the distribution of closing work is fairly asymmetrical, with closing unilaterally initiated by the comedian. Although, the audience *do* participate in providing laughter in response to the final joke, and applause in response to the comedian’s closing talk (an absence of either of these would be a display of some kind of trouble).

Across the extracts, it will become clear to the reader that the circle show closing sequences bear a resemblance to the extract above, and the organisation of stand-up closings more generally. This organisational similarity will be revisited in the conclusion, but the reader should now be familiar with the fact that the difference between circle shows and other kinds of performance events is that, of course, in the former donations happen as the very last action of the show. This adds an extra layer of organisational complexity because the circle show, much like stand-up comedy and other kinds of performance, requires a recognisable end to the performance. However, the circle show performer has to show his or her audience that there is something more to be done before walking away. Using a sequence similar to extract 6.1 to close a circle show might produce an elegant finish to the performance, but it would most likely result in an empty hat and audience members walking away. There is additional payment problem work that the circle show performer has to build into closing.

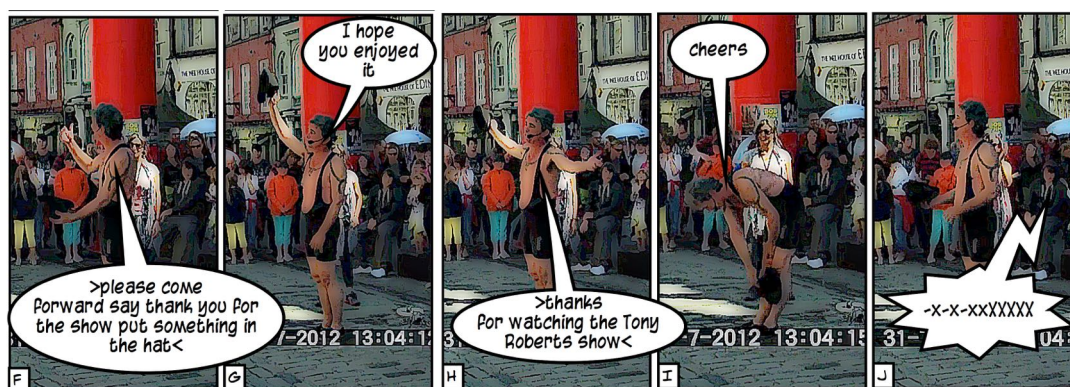
6.4. Closing the show: a first example

Consider the following circle show closing sequence. It is taken from a show performed by Tony, just as he completes the finale trick. Unlike many other acts, Tony’s show consists of a single trick—a two-minute timed escape from chains behind a curtain. The rest of the show is organised around building up to this escape (i.e., building a crowd, recruiting volunteers, getting tied up in chains, delivering the hat speech).

(TR = Tony; A = Audience)

Graphic transcript summary of extract 6.2:





Although the audience gives a timely display of appreciation by cheering and applauding in response to the completion of the finale trick (lines 2 & 3), Tony pursues further appreciation (lines 5 and 8). How he does this can be broken down into three components: first, Tony uses the imperative phrasal verb “come on” to encourage some further action to be done. Second, the general address term “ladies and gentlemen” selects the audience as producers of that action. Third the rise intonation and stretched “YEAH:;;;;,” and raising of arms (A) specifies the action to be performed as a further show of appreciation. Tony therefore enjoins his audience to celebrate further (despite the fact that his audience had already begun cheering and applauding only moments earlier). The recording shows this draws in a few more audience members to giving applause and generates further cheering (line 11). Cheering may be a way for those already giving applause to display compliance with Tony’s request. The round of applause is the show’s longest—a total of 14.0 seconds—and perhaps indicates the audience’s recognition of the end of the show (see Atkinson, 1984a). What might be going on here? Why does Tony encourage a further display of appreciation? One explanation might be that he is working to hold influence over his audience. By eliciting further cheering and applauding, Tony is continuing to have his audience participate collectively. In this way, Tony is discouraging the opportunity for audience members to return to their prior individual projects (see chapter 3). The danger is, of course, that in recognising that the “performing tricks” part of the performance has finished, and with only donations left to happen, some audience members will seize the opportunity to leave once they have finished applauding. Thus, controlling audience appreciation allows Tony to continue to hold audience members in the circle.

Next, Tony deploys a combination of carefully timed talk and actions that preserves the ongoingness of the interaction, and strongly orients his audience to remaining co-present: first, he produces a series of turns that overlap with applause (lines 8, 12, and 15). However, this does not appear to be the same kind of trick of

“refusing invited applause” commonly used by public speakers to make audience applause seem unexpected and overwhelming (Atkinson, 1984a, p.99); besides the fact that Tony had elicited applause only moments ago, he doesn’t attempt any re-starts that might indicate a “problem” of trying to make himself heard. Rather, it appears that the overlap allows Tony to secure the interactional floor while the audience is still busy giving applause. The strategic importance of this is evidenced in the eventual subject matter of the talk that follows. Second, and in that regard, Tony’s talk orients to the possibility that, on having recognised that the “performance part” of the show has finished, some audience members might be thinking of leaving without making a contribution. By starting his talk with the “forward looking” discourse marker “now”, Tony boundary marks a shift of action orientation—from celebrating the finale trick—to something which remains connected to the ongoing “discourse” of the show (Schiffrin, 1987). The inclusion of the address term “ladies and gentlemen” explicitly implicates his audience in this continuation. Tony then produces the three-part list “before you go (.) before ya leave (.) before you walk away”. Each item alternatively describes a next relevant action that has been generated by completing the finale trick and reaching the “end of the performance”. Note that whereas “go” and “leave” are quite neutral verbs in this context, the third item “walk away” is morally loaded as it internalises some notion of impropriety to the action (either in the physical act of removing oneself, or in the cause of the action). Note also how Tony simultaneously produces a sweeping point gesture directed to the rear of his audience (B). The point gesture and “list talk” mutually elaborate one another, with the gesture highlighting a portion of the audience who are regarded as the most likely to “walk away”. By the fact that three-part lists are recurrent conversational objects, and upon recognising that a three-part list is underway, recipients can orient to the third item as a possible completion point (Jefferson, 1990). Closer to the organisation of circle shows, Atkinson (1984a) has shown three-part lists to be widely used by public speakers as a resource to get shows of appreciation going. Thus, perhaps Tony is using the “three-partedness” (Jefferson, 1990) in a similar kind of way, only here it’s actually working to curtail audience applause (lines 12/13 & 15/16); the list strongly projects a completion point, whilst the “before” that precedes each item indicates there is something more to come.

Tony then makes an announcement of “two things” (line 15) with subsequent elaboration of each item. Note that Tony could have simply stated these without a prefacing announcement. What might this talk be doing? In his lecture on “Floor seekers” Sacks (1992, pp. 657-684) makes the point that one-thing announcements

can do is work to inform recipients of the structure of a piece of upcoming talk (e.g., a story, a joke). Here, of course, Tony must hold his audience's attention for long enough so that he can talk about donations. The problem he faces at this "post-finale" stage is that his talk runs the risk of being seen as "dragging things out", with individuals potentially getting bored, switching off, and walking away. However, by specifying the structure of his talk, Tony shows how much more there is to be said—he projects an upcoming completion point. In this way he continues to hold the audience's attention. As Sacks said, having the floor is only useful if people are listening in the first place. Thereafter the audience is told it should "share the laughter" (lines 15 and 18), and by giving its "support" Tony can perform for future crowds (lines 18-20). Note the first mention of sharing the laughter is hearable as a complete "turn construction unit" (Sacks et al., 1974), emphasised by a micro-pause, and might be understood as Tony asking his audience to go and share their enjoyment of the show with others directly (e.g., family and friends). On the second mention, it is part of the TCU "and if you do support me" (lines 18-20). In this second instance, sharing laughter is tied to audience members supporting (i.e., donating money to) the performer, who can then go on to perform the show for others (C). In this way, Tony reminds and encourages the audience to donate something at the end, not as a simple request, but rather packaged as an *appeal*. The appeal is built around a sense of altruism, of sharing laughter (and by extension, happiness) with others. The upshot is that Tony is orienting to the delicacy of the situation, of asking for donations without being heard as "press-ganging" his audience. An orientation to this delicacy continues into the subsequent three-part movement of talk / action (lines 20-22): Tony's hat (which he's been wearing since he completed the escape) is presented to the audience ("this is my hat") (D) before being brought to his chest ("this is my heart") (E). Tony semantically ties these two actions together by demonstrating to the audience what saying thank you literally involves: coming forward and putting "something" (i.e., money) into the hat (F). Through these moves, Tony produces an earnest *emotional expression* and a suggested appropriate means of reciprocation.

Finally, in the closing move, Tony produces another three-part sequence, this time with talk and gesture, ending with a theatrical bow (lines 23-24) (G-I). The recognisability of these turns as "final closing" is evidenced by a 5.0 second burst of audience applause (lines 25 and 28). There is a striking similarity of turn type and order to Rutter's comedian (extract 6.1). Furthermore, only when Tony exits out of the bow and upturns his hat do audience members begin to approach; a small girl skips forward to be the first to deposit a coin, quickly followed by others. This

precise moment of transitioning into donations throws into sharp relief that, prior to Tony upturning the hat, there was no “proper place” for audience members to deposit their coins and notes.

Shifting the analytic interest to the audience, there are a few interesting responses: before Tony’s first post-trick utterance (line 5), an audience member turns around to her companion and prompts a search for money (the male companion eventually produces some coins from his pocket). It’s significant that the search for money gets started immediately following completion of the trick, before any appeal for “support” is done, and this is perhaps indicative of audience members analysing this moment as the end of the show. When Tony then does make his appeal, the recording shows that there are at least two further occasions of audience members initiating searches for money: the first occurs at the micro-pause, after Tony’s “this is my heart” (line 20); the second immediately after Tony says “>please” (line 20). Much like Heath’s (1985) patients, whose preparation for leave taking was evidently coordinated both around the “turn-by-turn organisation of speech” (p.31) and the topic organisation of the medical consultation, circle show audience members’ preparation for payment also seem to be coordinated around two orders of organisation: first, the overall structural organisation of the show, as it recognisably moves from completion of the finale trick into closing. Second, searches for money are sensitive to the turn-organisation of the completion of the finale trick, and the post-finale donations talk.

To summarise, then, the example above provides a first look at the way performers organise the closing of the show and guide their audiences toward the donations activity. From the analysis, and for the purpose of our investigations here, we might suggest there are four features of closing the show that present as analytically interesting:

- i. *Audience appreciation*: the performer closely controls the timing and production of displays of appreciation (i.e., applause and cheers) for the finale trick.
- ii. *Continued audience co-presence*: the performer uses sequential, lexical, and other embodied resources to discourage audience members from walking away before reciprocating with a donation.
- iii. *Post-finale money talk*: the performer packages talk about money donations with other socially desirable actions. Some audience members respond by initiating searches for money.
- iv. *Moving into the donation activity*: the performer cues audience members to approach through a combination of final close turns and configuring the hat

as an available receptacle for receiving money. In turn, audience members remain in the audience circle until they have been shown that donating is a relevant action.

These four features will now be analysed in relation to shows performed by other performers.

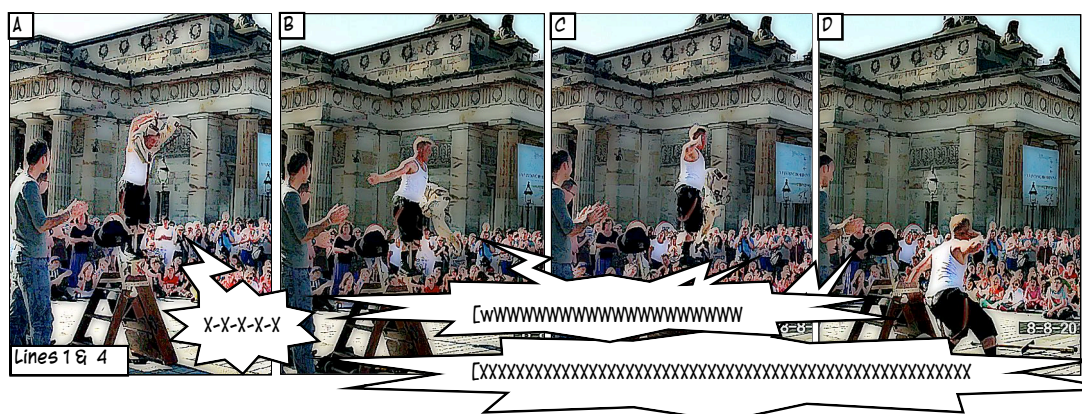
6.5. Audience appreciation

We saw in extract 6.2 how Tony controlled audience appreciation by encouraging further applause and cheering, after an initial display of timely appreciation. In the following extract, Shay does a similar thing:

Extract 6.3.

(SH = Shay; A= Audience)

1	A	X-X-X-X-X [XXXXXX [
2		(1.5)
3	SH:	[(YEAH) COME ON::: (12.0) Leslie (0.8)
4		[wwwwwwwwwwwwwwwwwwwwwwwwwwww]
5		_____ (5.0) _____
6	A:	[xxx]
7		_____ (15.6) _____
8		
9	SH:	just come out one more time] (1.0) boys can ah get you to
10	A:	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]
11		_____
12		move



For his finale, Shay escapes from a straitjacket whilst riding a pogo stick. The audience is asked to provide rhythmic clapping as Shay attempts the escape (line 1 and (A)). When he finally escapes from the straitjacket, he outstretches his arms. The audience responds with cheers (line 4) and a burst of applause (line 1 and (B)). This burst is quite distinguishable from the clapping which preceded it. Shay then pursues a further show of appreciation in several ways: he uses a similar line of

encouragement as Tony (“(YEAH) COME ON:::”), holds his hand to his ear (C), and sounds a claxon (that he’d earlier instructed the audience to applaud whenever it was activated) (not shown). Following this encouragement, applause lasts nearly 16.0 seconds.

In the following extract, J-P finishes his show with an impressive finale knife and axe juggle:

Extract 6.4.

(A = Audience)

```

1      JP:  THREE (0.9) TWO (0.9) ONE (0.7) please god (0.8) HUP
2          ((first axe throw)) (((catches axe))
3                               [°ooh [jesus° (2.0) [OH [COME ON GUYS
4      A:    [x-x-x-x-x-x-[XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
5                               |——(2.0)——|—————
6                               |                               [ W-WWWWWWWWWW
7                               |—————|
8      JP:  YEAH (1.8)][HUP (.) HUP (0.8) [aah
9          [((second axe throw))(((catches axe))
10     A:    XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
11          |—————|
12          WWWWWWWWWW]
13          —(2.6)—]
14     JP:  [>ladies and gentlemen< (2.0) >ladies and gentlemen<
15     A:    [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
16          |—————(18.0)——|
17     JP:  (1.0) you’ve been wonderful (1.0) that’s my life that’s]
18     A:    XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXxx-x-x-x-x-x-x]
19          |—————|
20     JP:  my love one last thing one last thing why the hell
21     not

```

Just before the first axe throw, J-P provides his audience with a staccato countdown (line 1), which signals to his audience the first imminent axe throw. Isolated claps are audible as J-P catches the axe. Indeed, audience applause is slow to get going (line 4) in the proceeding 2.0 seconds, as J-P continues juggling (line 3). He encourages the audience with the prompt “OH COME ON GUYS YEAH” (line 3 & 8). The informal address term “guys” may well be doing some work in mitigating the request being heard as too forceful. Note also the “backward looking” oh preface that displays J-P’s noticing of faltering audience appreciation in the prior 2.0 second silence (Heritage, 1984a). As it happens, a burst of audience applause and cheering begins right on J-P’s “OH” (line 4). The axe is then thrown and caught a final time, with the sound of rapturous applause (lasting a total of 18.0 seconds). Although it’s unclear whether or not applause would have got going in any event, J-P’s prompt draws in many more audience members into showing their appreciation. The timing of the prompt is also interesting: unlike the previous two performers, J-P produces

Again, at least one audience member begins to initiate a search for money *before* any payment talk occurs—as J-P produces the utterance “you’ve been wonderful” (line 17). And again, this would appear to be as a result of analysing completion of the finale trick as also standing for the show’s end.

Extract 6.5.

```

1      C:    ((juggles knives whilst balanced on two volunteers))
2      A:    ((rhythmic applause))
3          [-X-X-X-X-X[X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X]
4          [wwwwwWWWWW[WWWWWWWWWWW ((whistles))
5      C:                [oh my god (1.8) when I catch the last one
6      A:    X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-]
7            you all go nuts ((throws knife)) ((catches knife))]
8      A:    [WWWWWWWWWWWWWWW
9            [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX ((applause continues – not shown))
10           |—————(3.0)—|
```

The final extract below perhaps allows us to see how performers exercise control of the production of audience appreciation in a slightly different way; the performer actually gets the audience to *stop* applauding so appreciation is produced adjacently subsequent to completing the finale trick.

179

Extract 6.6.

(MV = Mat; A = Audience)

```
1      MV:  that's my show (.) >I hope you had an amazing time,<
2          (0.7) thank you [(0.2) this is (.) the<
3      A:          [-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-
4                  |_____(3.0)_____]
5      MV:  <°hold it for one second°] (.) <THIS IS (.) ↑THE: (.) END
6      A:  x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x- ]
7          |_____|
8      A:  [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
9          |_____(8.0)_____|
10         [wwwwwwwwwwwwwwww
11         |_____(5.4)_____|
```

For the finale, Mat contorts his body through a tennis racket frame. The first part of the trick requires Mat to dislocate his shoulder so that he is able to fit the racket over the top part of his torso (this produces a “gross out” response from his audience rather than applause or cheers). For the second part, Mat positions the racket over his waist. He then interrupts finishing the finale trick to talk to his audience about donating. The final part of the trick—to pass the racket over his waist and legs—is fairly anti-climactic (at least compared to the shoulder dislocation). To remedy this, Mat produces a series of turns-at-talk that vocally build a climax before finishing with a dramatic announcement that it is the end of the show—the tennis racket is pushed to the ground on the word “END” (line 5). This has the desired effect as the audience responds with a burst of appreciative applause (line 8). However, notice that just prior to that there are some isolated claps from the audience (line 3). These appear to be in response to Mat’s preceding utterances (lines 1-2) that are produced as a three-part list and are close implicative of the show—particularly the third item “thank you”. It’s fascinating that Mat treats these claps as sufficiently problematic that he actually self-interrupts finishing the show to ask the audience to withhold applause (line 5). His request is accompanied by what Kendon (1997) calls a “ring gesture” (on one hand, the index finger and thumb are brought together), which connotes precision of information. In this way, Mat is able to control the production of audience appreciation to coincide with finishing the trick.

Building on the prior observation that audience appreciation is tightly controlled, as first observed in relation to Tony’s show, the extracts in this section further evidence the various ways—through talk and gesture—that performers control finale trick applause. The point of this work is that the performer ensures the performance is brought to a climactic end. Thus, the performer establishes the performance as a success and provides favourable grounds on which to move into the donation activity.

6.6. Continued audience co-presence

Audience members recognised that completing the finale trick also stood for the imminent end of the show. This was evidenced by the fact that some audience members began to search for money in preparation for the upcoming payment activity, immediately after the finale trick (see 6.2 & 6.4). This observation fits quite nicely with Schegloff and Sacks's (1973) original point that closing an interaction can make relevant subsequent actions. We can perhaps begin to appreciate some of the connections with Heath's (1985) empirical follow-up: in extract 6.2, immediately following the finale trick and after encouraging further applause, Tony oriented to finishing the trick as standing for, for want of a better term, a "topic completion" point. This was a point at which walking away could be inserted, as he moved into closing the show and into the donation activity. Tony's sensitivity to this was evidenced in the specific design of his talk and action immediately following encouraging audience applause. In their sum, these moves accomplished the ongoing relevance of audience co-presence and provided the groundwork for making walking away a morally accountable matter.

Let us examine some more extracts for how other performers handle this problem. First, we return to Shay's show:

Extract 6.7.

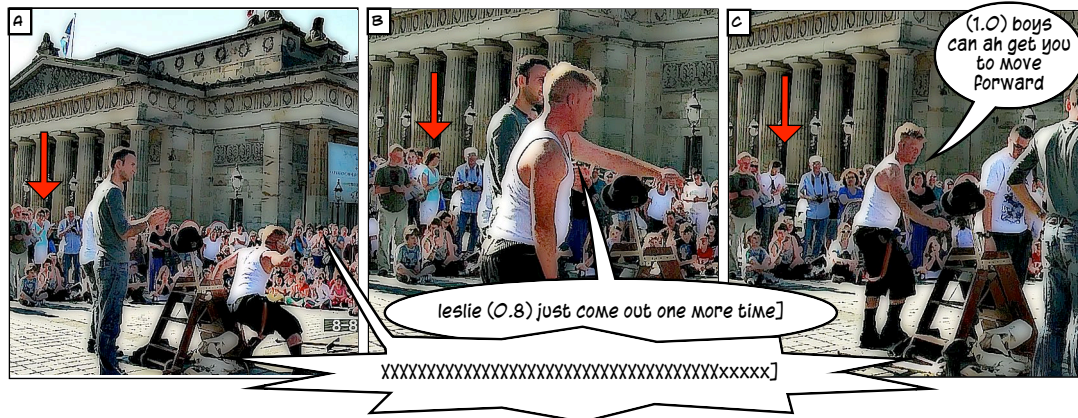
(SH = Shay; A = Audience)

```

1      SH:  [(YEAH) COME ON:: (12.0) Leslie (0.8) just come out
2      A:    [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
3            |_____(15.6)–
4      SH:  one more time] (1.0) boys can ah get you to move forward
5      A:    XXXXXXXXxxxxxx]
6            |_____|
7      SH:  Leslie stand in the middle (2.0) ladies and gentlemen
8            (0.2) it is impossible, (0.4) for me to do this show
9            (0.6) without these lovely people (.) big round of
10     applause for [Marco (0.3) Leslie (0.2) and ↑Michael
11     A:    [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
12            |_____|
13     SH:  (1.2) thank you so much Michael (0.4) thank you very much
14     A:    XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
15            |_____|
16     SH:  Marco (0.3) thank you Leslie y- (.)fantastic (0.3)
17     A:    XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
18            |_____(12.4)–
19     SH:  ↑folks (1.4) honestly (0.9)] if you
20     A:    XXXXXXxxxxxxxxxxx-x-x-x-x-x-X]
21            |_____

```

From lines 1-4:



As part of closing the show, Shay has the audience give his volunteers a round of applause (this requires asking one of his volunteers—Leslie—to come back on stage; the other two volunteers have remained on stage). Similar to Tony, Shay does not wait for audience applause to cease before asking Leslie to come back out (lines 1 & 4). In this way, Shay starts a new action—“thanking the volunteers”—before concluding a previous action—“showing appreciation for the trick”. The same organisation of applause/performer’s talk happens when the audience is showing their appreciation for the volunteers (lines 11-20); Shay starts another action—“talking about donating” (line 19).

Shay is quite effective in retaining his audience, but this by no means deters all individuals from leaving. The video recording shows that in the 0.8 second silence proceeding the utterance “Leslie” (line 1), one audience member at the front-left side of the circle stops giving applause, turns around, and exits the audience circle (plates A-C). The timing of the departure is particularly interesting: first, after pursuing audience appreciation through sounding the claxon, Shay moves his pogo stick to behind the step ladder (to the back of the stage). One might suggest this is an action recognisable as clearing away props at the end of the show. Second, when Shay attends to having Leslie return to the stage, he stands at the back-right side of the stage. In this position Shay’s volunteers are an obstruction between him and the left hand side of the audience—particularly the area from which the woman walks away. Third, in getting Leslie to come back out on stage, Shay’s visual attention is directed to the right hand side of the audience (where Leslie is stood). Fourth, the next action does not immediately require the audience’s participation (although it does project it); the first part of Shay’s talk, “Leslie”, at the very least does not make the audience the intended recipient of the subsequent utterance. Thus, the timing of the walk away appears to be done at the point when Shay’s demand for continued

audience co-presence is at its weakest (albeit only slightly), and coordinated to when the very act of exiting the circle will go unnoticed.

In the next example J-P begins talking to his audience as applause is still in full flow. And again, this overlap of talk allows the performer to secure the interactional floor:

Extract 6.8.

(A = Audience)

1	JP:	[>ladies and gentlemen< (2.0) >ladies and gentlemen<
2	A:	[XXX
3		------(8.0)-----
4	JP:	(1.0) you've been wonderful (1.0) that's my life that's]
5	A:	XXX-x-x-x-x-x-x]
6		-----
7	JP:	my love (.) one last thing one last thing why the hell
8		not (.) [HUP (.) HUP (3.0)] nobody move (.) [huhuh
9		[((cracks whip))]
10	A:	[hHHhhh

Note that J-P (like Tony in extract 6.2) selects the address term “ladies and gentlemen”, and thus his post-finale trick talk makes relevant continued audience co-presence. The 2.0 second (line 1) and 1.0 second (line 4) pauses that follow each audience address suggest that J-P is trying to continue speaking, but is unable to do so in the face of rapturous applause (Recall that J-P had got applause going in the first place—“oh come on guys”). Here, then, J-P is doing something similar to “refusing invited applause” (Atkinson, 1984a, p.99). This enhances the favourable impression of his performance. Furthermore, in trying to persevere with speaking, J-P curtails applause. The compliment “you’ve been wonderful” and expressive “that’s my life that’s my love” may well be inserted as further “non-consequential” talk as applause comes to a stop.

Next, J-P uses an additional strategy to orient the audience to remaining in the circle: he produces a series of whip cracks and “nobody move” talk combination (lines 8 and 9). The audience laughter in response treats this as humorous. In this way, J-P is able to attend to the quite serious business of telling his audience to remain where they are—by wrapping the directive with humour (also see chapter 5). The “nobody move” line also does something similar to Tony’s “before you go (.) before ya leave” (Extract 6.2, lines 12 & 15): it establishes the contextual relevance of a particular moral accountability whereby any act of exiting the audience circle without first depositing money into the hat can be sanctioned.

Here is another example:

Extract 6.9.

(CR = Conrad; A = Audience)

```
1      C:    [ladies and gentlemen (.) a huge round of applause (.)
2      A:    [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
3            |
4      C:    for my two volunteers (2.0) (thank you so much) (.) take
5            XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
6            _____(15.0)_____
7            a seat (3.0) [I've got one last thing to say all of you]
8            [((picks up whip))
9      A:    XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXxxx-x-x-x-x-x-x-x]
10           |
11      C:    ((cracks whip))
12           nobody move
13      A:    hHHH
```

Conrad gets the audience to thank his volunteers as a simple continuation of the ongoing applause for the finale trick. This allows him to discharge his volunteers much quicker than Shay (extract 6.7), and, most importantly, demands the audience's continued participation. Further note that the audience continues to be the intended recipient of Conrad's talk. Thereafter, Conrad's announcement "I've got one last thing to say to all of you" (line 7) works to curtail applause. In fact applause significantly drops off by "thing" (line 7 & 9) and this allows Conrad to secure the interactional floor. Note the similar construction to Tony's "two things" (extract 6.2, line 15) and J-P's "one last thing one last thing" (extract 6.8, line 7), which tells the audience there is some-*thing* more yet to happen/to be said. These turn-constructions strongly demand the audience's continued co-presence in order to find out. As it happens, and similar to the method used by J-P, the "thing" is the directive "nobody move", and it is also prefaced by the whip-crack. Again, the audience treats the move as humorous (line 13).

Following on from extract 6.2, then, the examples in this section elaborate how performers treat the completion of the finale trick as a critical moment when audience members could walk away. This is not simply because audience members are cynical and are all trying to evade giving a donation (though there are surely those who are and do); rather, completing the finale trick is close implicative, it projects the end of the performance. Hence, it makes terminating co-presence a next relevant action. Performers deploy a number of interactional resources to discourage audience members from breaking co-presence. The efficacy of these actions depend on their precise sequential timing; for example, beginning a next action while the audience is giving applause for the finale trick and then announcing there is something else yet to happen. Thus, performers at this stage now explicitly require

further participation from their audiences and therefore continued co-presence. The next action, as it turns out, is often a request not to walk away; this explicitly topicalises walking away as a sequentially appropriate possibility while simultaneously rendering it a morally accountable action.

6.7. Post-finale donations talk

In extract 6.2, we observed how Tony used several action combinations. These seemed oriented to the delicacy of requesting money donations. One of those ways was to make an appeal for support; it was an appeal to help him continue to perform the show on future occasions. Consider the extract below:

Extract 6.10.

(MV = Mat; A = Audience)

```

1      MV:  please, (.) be as generous as you can
2          (1.0) I know you might not think it but it goes a long
3          way to keeping people like me and all the other
4          entertainers here (.) out here (.) making people like you
5          happy (1.0) .h my name (0.8) was Mat Valentine (0.4) I
6          wanna thank you all for the time, .h thank you for the
7          joy, we have all just shared together (.) THIS IS (.)
8          THE::: (0.8) hh one more thing (.) son, could you get
9          my hat (0.8) son, could you get my hat (1.0)
10         ((boy walks across to hat))
11      MV:  guys you won't be making a contribution for me (0.8)
12          you'll be making a contribution, (2.2)
13          ((boy carries hat to Mat))
14      MV:  for my little boy (1.0) who I haven't taught a word of
15          English
16      A:   ((laughter))
17      MV:  son walk away (.) look cute and hungry
18      A:   ((laughter))

```

...[10 lines omitted]...

```

29      MV:  [guys (.) guys guys [I did my job (0.8)
30          [((hat held in air - left arm))][((rests hat on chest))
31      A:   [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
32          |-----(4.0)-----|
33      MV:  [no:w ] ]
34          [((brings left forearm towards chest)]
35      A:   [x -x-]
36          |(0.4)|
37      MV:  (.) [it's your turn (.) to do yours (0.6)
38          [((gestures left arm towards audience))

```

At lines 1-5, Mat uses a similar appeal to Tony; the current audience's support is framed not for the benefit of the performer, but for the benefit of keeping future audiences "happy" (this also repeats the "performance as a social good" element of the hat speech). Immediately following this talk, Mat begins to work up the

The delicacy of requesting money donations is also visible in the way that performers construct it as an opportunity to say thanks, but also (as we saw in the previous chapter) dependent on what an audience member can afford. J-P does this in the extract above (“give what you can”; line 5), as does Shay in the following extract:

(SH = Shay; A = Audience)

Here, Shay provides the audience with the opportunity to simply come and say thanks. However, Shay limits this alternative; he indicates a preference for money by adding on the conditional and somewhat idiomatic “but remember I have bills as well” (line 13). Drew and Holt (1998) have elsewhere discussed the moral force of idiomatic expressions, insofar as they delete the specific empirical details of the speaker’s circumstances and invite affiliation. Again, the efficacy of Shay’s talk is visible in the way that some audience members initiate money searches just after, “if you cannot afford to throw anything (0.7) in my hat” (lines 1, 4 & 6), on “or actually” (line 6), and again on the subsequent 0.8 second pause (line 8).

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(RT = Tom; A = Audience)

“Exiting the show” is an action we typically associate with formal entertainment/performance, where the material environment (walls, fences, barricades, etc.) and human agents (security guards and event staff) constrain how it’s done. In absence of these kinds of constraints, which control access to the entertainment/performance, Tom builds a visit to his hat into the physical act of leaving. In this way, the actions of exiting and donating are tied together.

Having set out some of practical work undertaken in pursuit of closing the show, the final section examines some of the organisational features of how the donations activity gets going.

Recall in extract 6.2 how Tony produced a final sequence of turns-at-talk that resembled those used by Rutter's (1997) stand-up comedians (see extract 6.1). Tony then immediately followed these turns with upturning his hat, which was the first time a place had been provided for audience members to deposit their money

donations. In the extract below, J-P produces a similar set of final moves:

Extract 6.14.

(JP = J-P; A = Audience)

```

1      JP:   but if you had fun [(1.0) help me bring it to
2              [((picks up hat))
3      other ↑people (0.8) [come on ↑up (0.8) stick some money
4              [((steps on to suitcase))
5      in the hat (1.0) >you've been great< (.) my name's JP
6      Koala (.) I'm down here every single day (.) I do a
7      different show (.) every single day. (.) [come on up
8              [((gestures
9              with right hand))]
10     guys (.) say thank you (.) give what you can
11     [(.) you've been gorgeous thank you (0.2) oh go (0.7)]
12     A:     [-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-]
13           |_____(3.0)_____|
14     JP:     ah go BACK GET SOME MORE IT'S A GAME KIDS

```

Out of all the performers in the corpus, and those watched as part of the ethnographic fieldwork, J-P takes the longest amount of time between finishing the finale trick and first audience member approaching to deposit money. One might assume that the longer the performer keeps the audience waiting in between the finale trick and donating the greater risk there is of persons walking away (in light of there no longer being the promise of further tricks). However, it's in these final moments, as J-P moves into the donation activity, that the efficacy of how he closes the show becomes apparent: On producing the "nobody move" line (extract 6.8), J-P begins to pack away his props into a suitcase. Whilst doing this he continues to close the performance. The suitcase is then moved (thrown) into the performance circle to function as a makeshift platform on which to stand and collect donations. J-P then collects his hat (line 2) and steps on to the suitcase (line 4). At line 3, he directs the audience to "come on up (0.8) stick some money in the hat". The raised intonation on "up" and the fact that J-P is still in the process of standing on the suitcase seems to account for why in the proceeding 0.8 second silence no audience member approaches on this first request. A series of close turns then follow (lines 5-7), and then a second request to "come on up" gets done. Accompanying this request is a pronounced flick of the hand/wrist.

At this point, the first audience member begins to approach (J-P's child volunteer, with a note in hand that his mum had given him, leaves the audience circle as far back as the utterance "people join in" (line 2, extract 6.11)). However, this is followed by some hesitant pauses, perhaps in response to J-P's continuing

talk. Both of the subsequent utterances “say thank you” and “give what you can” are produced with flat intonation (line 10), and audience members begin to approach *en masse*. It is striking that when audience members do begin to approach, although it gets started by only a handful of individuals, many more individuals quickly follow. Why is this striking? It was on watching this clip that I first noticed an important function of the closing work: in order to approach on J-P’s final closing remarks, a significant number of audience members must have located money prior to this point. In this way, closing the show works toward audiences *being* and *getting* prepared for the upcoming donations. Returning to Schegloff and Sacks (1973), they point out that closings in ordinary conversation may well get fitted around the fact that parties need time to prepare for a subsequent next action. For example, on leaving a friend’s house, we might need time to put on our shoes, coats, and collect our belongings. We often do small talk in such circumstances. This allows us to extend the closing sequence so that our goodbyes coincide with the shutting of the front door. In a similar way, both J-P and Tony’s closing moves exemplify how performers craft these final moments in order to get audiences prepared for payment, but also give sufficient time for themselves to get prepared.

Let us now look at some final examples of how performers get donations going. Both Conrad and Shay use a similar organisation of final closing moves:

Extract 6.15.

(SH = Shay; A = Audience)

1	SH:	[come forwards throw in (0.2) what you think
2		[(raises right arm)]
3	SH:	it’s worth=[my name’s Shay Horay (0.4) thank
4		[(raises right arm
5	SH:	you very much (.) I hope you enjoyed yourself cheers
6		[(bows)]
7	A:	[XXXXXXXXX
8		-(3.0)-
9	SH:	[aw thanks Charlie (.) nice one=go an’ get some
10	A:	[XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x
11		------(3.0)-----
12	SH:	more (0.9)]
13		-x-x-x-x-x]
14		-----

(CR = Conrad; A = Audience)

In extract 6.15, Shay finishes with a series of close turns that also get accompanied by a theatrical bow (lines 3-6). Shay uses a cloth bag to collect payment. Despite holding this bag in his hand for some time, the audience only approach after the final closing moves. Shay's first paying audience member is a small boy, who had been involved in an earlier part of the show. He approaches during final audience applause (Many children subsequently follow).

Cuing audience members to approach can also be done in other ways; for example:

Extract 6.17.

(MV = Mat)

1 MV: you may come forward (1.0) please remember
2 the more you give (0.8) the more I have

Remember that Mat has already produced a set of final close turns in working up the finish of the finale trick (extract 6.6, lines 1-5). After those set of turns no audience member leaves the circle to pay. Thus, having already announced the end of the show, Mat uses a simple request to approach (“you may come forward”). Interestingly, this request implies that audience members are visibly waiting to be told to come forward and pay when the performer is ready. In that regard, Brown (2004) via Sacks makes a similar observation that even standing in a queue one must display that one is “waiting”: “doing nothing is doing *something*” (Brown, 2004, p.14, italics in original). Mat’s request gets combined with the hat being made available to deposit money, as he simultaneously kneels down on the platform. On completion of the TCU “you may come forward”, a small girl takes a step forward. It’s noticeable in Mat’s show that, although there is no ambiguity about the cue to approach (“you may come forward”), many audience members step forward to leave the circle but then hesitate to walk any further, as they try to locate money. This is perhaps explained by the relatively short amount of time spent on closing the show (when compared with, for example, J-P). This does not appear to cause any significant problem (indeed a large proportion of the audience donate), but it does highlight some of the organisational subtleties and nuances of the circle show craft. This might not be too significant for a show that is performed on a non-festival pitch, which is locally organised by performers—a minute or two over time is not going to cause any great problem. However, recall that at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe circle show performances are permitted a maximum of 45 minutes. Recall also that the Fringe Street Team use stopwatches to time performances, and going over time can result in being banned from performing the following day. Therefore, how able a performer is to have audience members ready to deposit money will have economic consequences.

The final extract below exhibits another way of cuing audience members to approach, and is the final part of a relatively short closing section:

Extract 6.18.

(RT = Tom)

```
1      RT:   the exit to the show is [here (.) thank you very much
2                                     [((Holds out hat using left arm
3                                     and hand))]
4          ((Places hat on top of trailer and blows out first fire
5          torch))
```

After showing the audience where to pay before leaving (extract 6.13), Tom places his hat on to the trailer. This is done, in part, so he can extinguish his fire torches, but it also finally makes available the hat-as-receptacle in which to place donations. Although not significantly longer than some of the other closing sections (e.g., Conrad), it takes over 4.0 seconds before the first audience member approaches to donate. One possible explanation is that audience members need further time to search for money and organise who's donating (see chapter 7).

This final section on circle show closings has analysed how performers and audiences transition in to the subsequent donations activity. Performers produce a set of final close turns that recognisably bring the performance to an end. Accompanying this work is the configuring of the hat for receiving donations. It is at this moment, in closing, that audience members are explicitly shown where they are to deposit money. Producing the hat in this way is not treated as a sufficient cue for audience members to leave the audience circle and approach the performer. Instead, audience members orient to the final close turns in the performer's talk. In some instance (extracts 6.2, 6.16 and 6.17), the performer unfolds a cloth bag or upturns the hat at the precise moment when audience members should approach.

6.10. Conclusion

This chapter has examined a discrete part of the circle show, with a particular interest in its moment-to-moment sequential organisation. The analyses began with an examination of how performers maintain tight interactional control over *how* and *when* audiences show appreciation in relation to completing the grand finale trick. The second section then demonstrated the performer's orientation to how moving into closing makes relevant terminating co-presence, and thus how he or she responds by showing audiences that there is something more to happen. The third section examined how a performer delicately returns to the matter of money donations, and continues to establish the obligation to reciprocate through giving a money donation before walking away. The fourth section then demonstrated how, following the preceding work, the performer shows when is the appropriate moment for audience members to leave circle and approach the hat.

Until now, the fine-grained interactional detail of closing the circle show performance has not been the subject of any sustained analysis. At first glance, closing a circle show performance does not appear to merit the kind of significance attached to it that other aspects of the performance obviously might for solving the payment problem (for example, the “crowd build” or “hat speech”). However, conversation analytic research has consistently pointed to the terminating of social interactions as a perspicuous setting for understanding and explicating members’ methodic procedures (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). In the circle shows examined here, closing is organised specifically in relation to an orientation to the payment problem; a performer must bring the performance to a climactic end, but that paradoxically establishes the end of the performance. To solve this, performers use an institutionally recurrent temporality of action within closing, which incrementally transitions from the end of the performance into the donations activity. A fundamental part of this work is to make it problematic for audience members to walk away without first depositing a money donation into the hat. “Walking away” is produced as morally accountable and sanctionable. In closing, performers also continue to build the performance as something that has been produced for the benefit of others, as something selflessly given to audiences. Giving a money donation is the preferred way of reciprocating the receipt of this benefit.

A key part of the closing work is the use of the hat. Quite often, during the performance, the hat is worn as an accoutrement—it is a constituent part of the visibility of being a street performer. But in closing the hat becomes useful in other ways; it is configured as a symbol of the performance; it is used as a resource with which the performer can tie the project of performing as a social benefit with a request for donations. The hat can also be used to demonstrate the physical act of depositing money—i.e. how donating is to be done. Alternatively, the hat can be simply held out, set down, and upturned. In this way the hat is reconfigured as a receptacle object—a place where donations can be properly deposited. However, this is not sufficient for audience members to begin the donation activity. That still requires the performer to produce final closing turns.

In that regard, the organisation of performer and audience “turns” in closing the circle show also bears a striking resemblance to the live stand-up comedy shows examined by Rutter (1997). This similarity hints at something more general beyond closings, and perhaps indicates another institutional kind of speech-exchange system—Sacks first wrote about this with his colleagues (Sacks et al., 1974). With that said, closing the circle performance is transformed by the yet-to-be-resolved

payment problem. And whilst some indoor shows follow a similar “pay at the end” structure (e.g., indoor Fringe shows), the added complexity of the street setting makes circle show closings unique.

Despite the identified recurrent organisation, closing in circle shows is, nonetheless, contingently managed. Performers’ shows differ in many subtle, yet significant, ways. Some performers finish atop a platform, have fire juggling sticks to extinguish, have to retrieve the collection hat, have to dispense with volunteers, and so on. These details matter in how transitioning into the donation activity gets crafted. Thus, whilst Tony’s (extract 6.2) closing work is a very good example of accomplishing a smooth transition, it would need to be substantially adapted to work, say, in Shay’s show (where something as simple as having to move the pogo stick to the back of the stage would have to be accommodated).

The analyses of moving into the donation activity also highlight something quite unique about the circle show and the arrangement of the participants: closing the show does not result in a straightforward terminating of co-presence, but a transition into another activity. There are conversation analytic studies that have also discussed “activity closings” (Broth & Mondada, 2013; vom Lehn, 2013). Although, in those studies the activities transitioned between were of the same type. That is not the case here; participating in the performance was a radically different activity to participating in the donation activity. This will become clear in the final empirical chapter.

Last, the donations activity isn’t strictly undertaken by the same configuration of participants. The audience circle dissolves when audience members are instructed to approach and pay. As individuals approach to donate, walk away, locate money, etc., we see people returning to the social units in which they arrived—“the audience” (at the very least, spatially defined) is no more. In a sense, closing the show and moving into donations achieves a reconfiguration of the interactional space (Ticca, 2012). This observation finesses a point made by Mulkay and Howe (1994, p.497) that performers keep donations a collective activity (and by extension a continuation of the performance) by continuing to produce humorous talk and generate laughter. We might consider that the performer’s humorous talk specifically works to bring donations under the boundaries of the performance, in light of closing. This is because of a recognisable category shift in respect of the co-present individuals. But it is also because the performer’s influence over a mass of people has diminished, as they legitimately return to prior social projects. Perhaps, pushing these observations to their limits, we could say that the closing of the circle show performance is another place where we can see the articulation of a categorial

arrangement of bodies, and by extension accompanying rights and obligations as dynamically shifting and redefined through social interaction (see Lee & Watson, 1993).

Chapter 7

The payoff: circle show donations

7.1. Introduction

Donating is the final act of the circle show. It is the moment when the performer gets to realise the fruits of his or her labour. It is the point in the show when audience members can show their appreciation for the performance, by dropping some money into the performer's hat. It is also the final moment of the encounter between the performer and the audience, before people walk away and return to their prior social projects.

This final empirical chapter examines how, at the end of the circle show performance, the donations activity is organised and accomplished. It examines what performers and audience members do during the donations activity. Specifically, it examines the social actions that are accomplished when audience members come forward and deposit money into the performer's hat.

In the following section, I set the scene for analysing the donations activity. Thereafter, I provide an overview of how the interactional sequence is ordered and organised. This includes attending to way that the donations activity is shaped by the material properties of the hat. The subsequent analyses are split into two parts. The first part attends to the performer's continued work to pursue non-trivial sums of money, while also showing appreciation for the donations that are being deposited. The second section then shifts the analytic focus to how audience members deposit donations, and what that can accomplish. The findings will then be summarised.

7.2. Analysing the donations sequence

Chapters 5 and 6 have evidenced *that* and *how* the circle show performer steadily builds the performance toward this final sequence of interaction. Recall in chapter 5 that it was observed that performers transform giving a donation into an assessment—giving a donation is a way for audience members to show how they've *valued* the performance (e.g., "If you've enjoyed my show"—extract 5.21). Also recall

that performers tell their audiences how they value particular donation amounts: for example, they tell their audiences what sums of money are “good” donations (e.g., “five quid (.) is a good donation”—extract 5.22). Thereafter, the performer works to close the performance and bring it to a climactic finish, while also showing the audience the ongoing relevance of co-presence. In sum, we might say that the donations activity is literally the “payoff” for this prior interactional work. Surprisingly then, with the exception of Mulkay and Howe’s (1994, p.497) brief description, there has been no research conducted into how performers and audience members organise and coordinate the donations activity.

The video recordings show that money was continually made an interactionally relevant feature both by performers and donating audience members. As money was deposited into hat, the performer expressed their appreciation (as we have already seen in chapter 3). At the same time, the performer used occasions of donations as resources to pursue non-trivial sums of money from yet-to-donate audience members. The video recordings also show audience members pursued brief interaction with the performer as they deposited money. Audience members gave donations for the purposes of showing the performer that they had enjoyed the performance. In this regard, the unique organisation of donating in the circle show complicates interaction with the performer. This is because donations happened “many at a time”. The subsequent analyses will therefore examine both how performers and donators organised the donations activity and the actions that are accomplished. Before that, it is relevant first to elaborate a little on the donations sequence and its “many at a time” organisation.

7.3. The donation sequence: “many at a time”

In chapter 3, when donators approached the musical they did so one at a time. A number of organisational features made this possible. First, the hat-as-receptacle provided for the ongoing possibility for donations to be given throughout the performance. Second, this provided for the possibility for people to donate in relation to their prior and ongoing projects. Therefore people were able to donate at different times during the performance, depending on when they stopped, watched, and withdrew. As we already know, in the circle show performance, the donations activity happens at the end.

There are two organisational features that accomplish donations at the end, and produce a many at a time organisation. First, the performer, in the hat speech, tells the audience that the end of the show is the appropriate time to donate. Second, the performer restricts the availability of the hat-as-donation-receptacle. As noted in the previous chapter, this does not necessarily mean hiding the hat altogether.

Rather, it means not configuring the hat so that it is visible to the audience members as a donations receptacle. With that said, there were two occasions (more or less one after the other) in one of J-P's shows when audience members donated mid-show. On the first occasion, J-P asks the audience member to place the money on the stool, which was used for a particular trick. While the hat was lying crumpled (and not open) nearby on the floor, he did not make it available for the donator. On the second occasion, J-P simply put the money into his pocket. Donations were always collected in the hat at the end of the performance. This of course meant that anyone who wanted to donate had to wait (and this was an effective way of encouraging people to watch the whole show). The outcome was that everyone must donate within a narrow window of opportunity, following an invitation from the performer.

This did not mean that everyone rushed to the hat at precisely the same time. One reason was that groups or "withs" (Goffman, 1971) had to sort out who was going to donate. This kind of problem has been also discussed in other kinds of payment encounters (Llewellyn, 2011b, 2015). "Singles" almost always deposited donations, even though they could be on behalf of a number of people. The beginning of the donations activity tended to happen with maybe one or two audience members stepping out of the audience circle and then moving toward the hat/performer. These first few audience members were important for getting donations started because they transgressed the previously jointly maintained boundary between performance space and audience circle. We see this in extract 7.1 below:

Extract 7.1.





At (A), we see that audience members “1”, “2” and “3” have left the audience circle at more or less the same time (note that “2” is running). This was in response to J-P’s immediately prior invitation (“come on up guys (0.2) say thank you”—extract 6.14). At about the same time “4” brings his hands from behind his back to his front and manipulates the money he is holding. “5” remains stationary. As “1” completes his second pace forward, and as J-P says “you’ve been gorgeous”, “4” makes a postural shift and begins approaching. It would appear that whereas “4’s” final preparation (bringing his hands to his front) is coordinated with J-P’s talk, the postural shift that initiates the beginning of his approach is more likely prompted by “1’s” visible forward movement into the performance area. Almost immediately after “4’s” postural shift, “5” turns his head slightly in the direction of “1”, “2” and “3”, and then begins a slow step forward into the circle (B). A subsequent wave of approaching audience members thereafter follows (C).

Significantly, being a “first” affords the possibility to deposit money into the hat whilst potentially having a degree of recognition and contact with the performer. This is much more problematic when many others are doing the same thing. Some examples of this will be analysed in due course.

The many at a time organisation was produced as a result of the way that a steady stream of approaching audience members closely followed the first to approach. The stream was ongoingly produced as more audience members located money and exited the circle. The recordings show that, despite the performer’s previous talk about donations, there were still many audience members who did not search for money until the activity was well underway. Audience members avoided too much bunching up by staggering their approaches to the hat. This would otherwise be the case if all donating audience members approached the performer at precisely the same moment.

As we saw in chapter 3 (except for the deviant example), there were no

occasions of audience members arriving at the hat before they had selected money. Audience members would first select money and then begin their approach, or they would select money as they approached. In the latter case, audience members would either slow their gait or momentarily halt their approach. This was so money could be located and produced by the time of arriving at the hat. When audiences were large, and despite a steady stream of approaching audience members, there still could be occasions when approaching the hat slowed to a crawl. At such times audience members in the thick of it would have to wait their turn (see figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1.



Occasionally, waiting audience members could be two or three rows deep. However, it is not quite right to say that these audience members were queuing. At least, we would not say that waiting audience members organised themselves such that they were busied producing and recognising queue-relevant categories (Lee & Watson, 1993). Approaching audience members did not orient to one another as next in line, second in line, third in line, or even back of the line. Each audience member's concern was a contingently local and immediately proximate one, insofar as it was relevant to his or her own project of approaching, paying and withdrawing. There were many occasions when individuals approaching the hat would take a route that entirely circumvented the crowd of approaching others. These individuals were able to skip maybe two or three rows of other audience members similarly busied with trying to reach the performer and the hat. Such manoeuvres were not treated as sanctionable—there were no “queue jumpers” to be found in the mass of approaching donating audience members. For example, extract 7.2 illustrates an approaching audience member making such a manoeuvre.

Extract 7.2.



When the arrowed person in (A) comes into view of the camera, there are three persons stood in front of him, one after the other. However, this person does not join what, in other circumstances, could be treated as the “back of the queue”. Instead, he walks around the three persons, arriving at the side of the performer. He immediately deposits his money into the hat and then withdraws (C). The route he navigates takes him behind the performer and avoids having to walk through the crowd of approaching donors.

If not through serially formatted queues (Garfinkel & Livingston, 2003), then how are audience members organising how they approach the hat? Within the mass of approaching audience members there was local negotiation of bodies finding and moving into free pockets of space. This is what Garfinkel (2002, p.215) calls “a local interactional crush”. This is a local orderliness calibrated toward the setting specific task of reaching the hat, without bumping into others, stepping on feet, etc. This phenomenon was perhaps most visible when approaching audience members encountered those who, having donated, were recognisably withdrawing.

Audience members did not treat others in the midst of depositing a donation as a reason not to do so themselves. Instead, audience members would deposit their money into the hat as soon as they had a sufficiently unobstructed path. For example, adults would frequently reach over the heads of children to deposit

money. Donating audience members also displayed a shared orientation to depositing money into the hat as soon as practicably possible—thus minimising time spent at the hat. This permitted a relatively smooth and continuous turnover of persons arriving at the hat and depositing money.

The hat could be a site of intense activity when payment was in full flow. Figure 7.2 illustrates how the hat or cloth bag—both of which are configured as receptacle objects—possess the “affordance” (Gibson, 1986 [1979]) for multiple deposits to be simultaneously made, and from a range of positions. The hat could collect and hold a large number of number coins and notes. As a point of contrast, consider that payment by hand can be practically adequate for other street activities such as big issue vending, where sales (or even money gifts) are fewer in number and take place *one at a time* (Llewellyn, 2011a; Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008).

Figure 7.2.



Audience members approaching would regularly have to cede space for audience members withdrawing, though this was done in the most economical way. In extract 7.3 (below), the person (arrowed in (A)) approaches to donate from a lateral position. At least two persons are stood immediately behind him, as he proceeds to deposit his coins. This leaves the donator with no obvious clear path of departure (B). The person on his right side then begins to reorient his entire body away from the hat and the performer (C). At the same time the person on his left side begins to make a postural shift, slightly to the right. This begins to open up a gap that permits withdrawing (D).

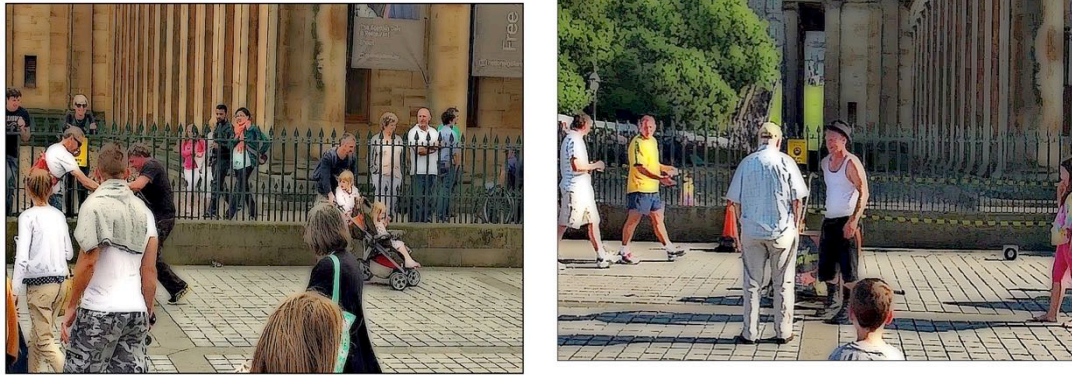
Extract 7.3.



This exquisite move is done without the parties gazing at one another, let alone exchanging talk (for example: “excuse me”). Rather, through what Goffman (1971) calls a “body gloss” (also see Lee & Watson, 1993, pp. 100-102). The arrowed person produces an accountable intention to withdraw (by turning around) that is counter to the flow of, and recognised by, the approaching audience members. In this way, the withdrawing audience member jointly establishes with the two approaching audience members that he has the right of way. Of course, this brief collaboration is mutually beneficial: it also allows the two audience members to gain access to the hat. Once the stream of audience members has past its peak, both approaching and withdrawing from the hat can be done without obstruction.

Finally, as there are always firsts to approach, for each occasion of donations there are always “lasts” (see figure 7.3 below). Performers often attach special status to an incumbent last to approach by calling out “the last one is the lucky one”. The performer does this in the pursuit of collecting donations from any stragglers who might think the opportunity to pay has passed.

Figure 7.3.



Being a last can also afford the opportunity for contact with the performer, but without the pressure of other audience members approaching (Audience members—and researchers—who wish to talk to the performer frequently will wait nearby, until the donations activity has concluded).

This section has offered a description of the donations sequence, with a particular focus on the “many at a time” organisation, and some of its key organisational features. The next section attends to the performer’s talk while donations are happening. It focuses on how performers use occasions of donating to further pursue non-trivial sums of money, and how the performers show appreciation.

7.4. The performer’s donations talk

7.4.1. *Forward looking: pursuing non-trivial sums of money*

In chapter 6, I demonstrated that as the performer brings the show to a close, and audience members approach, the audience circle dissolves. I suggested that the performer’s “hold” over the audience has considerably diminished. In spite of this, most performers will continue to produce a gentle kind of patter. However, this talk is not so much directed towards encouraging donations *per se*, but rather maximising the sums of money given. This patter was always produced in a humorous way, which allowed performers to avoid being heard as pushy or aggressive.

Consider the following extract:

Extract 7.4.

(CR.10.8.12) (C = Conrad)

1 C: >LOOK AT THAT< TEN POUNDS FROM A KID WITHOUT A
2 JOB

This is a typical line used by performers. On this occasion it is produced following a child audience member depositing a note into Conrad's collection bag. There are several interesting things worth noting about its precise production: first, Conrad produces the utterance to be heard by all members of the audience. Despite the physical structure of the audience circle dissolving, the utterance displays some continuing category relevance of an "audience". The initial ">LOOK AT THAT<" is not directed at any particular individual and the whole utterance is loudly produced, intending to be heard by more than those in close proximity. Second, the utterance gives special recognition to a specific amount of money. This is done through the naming of the sum and the use of emphasis ("TEN"). The young girl's ten-pounds is given in the form of a paper note, and this allows the performer to recognise the amount "at a glance". Note that it is only usually paper money, which gets marked by the performer through talk. If an audience member gave five pound coins, for example, the total amount would not be recognisable in the same way (the money would require much more careful scrutinising). Third, the humour is generated through the final "kid without a job". Following Sacks's (1972b) procedure, we can understand the humour as an ironic play on categories and category bound activities; the performer juxtaposes the category bound activity "job", normally an activity bound to the category "adult", with "kid". Although the performer designs the humour to be taken as surreal, there is an implicit understanding behind it that working adults can afford this sum of money as a donation.

The line is replicated in another Conrad show:

Extract 7.5.

(CR.12.8.12) (C = Conrad)

1 C: >LOOK AT THAT< FIVE POUNDS FROM A KID WITHOUT A
2 JOB (.) TEN POUNDS FROM A KID WITHOUT A JOB

By chance it happens that two notes are deposited in quick succession, and Conrad marks the receipt of both. Announcing the increase in denomination publicly raises the potential value of the show; it demonstrates to those yet-to-pay donators how other donators have evaluated the performance.

Let us consider some further examples:

Extract 7.6.

(JP.7.8.12)

1 JP: PLEASE DON'T PUSH AND SHOVE (0.2) thank you.
2 (0.5) thank you very much (0.2) () (1.0)
3 UNLESS YOU'VE GOT A TENNER THEN KICK THESE KIDS
4 >OUT OF THE WAY<

Whether or not people really are pushing or shoving is not the point; rather, J-P creates the impression that audience members are keen to donate. He then transforms this apparent concern for his audience into a joke, which also has as its punchline a reference to a "tenner".

The following two performers use another common line that utilised the "kid" category:

Extract 7.7.

(CR.12.8.12) (C = Conrad; A = Audience)

1 C: Thank you buddy throw it in there (0.2) it's a
2 ↑game go back for ↑more
3 A: hHHHhh

Extract 7.8.

(JP.7.8.12)

1 JP: thank you that's not enough go get some more
2 it's a game

Both Conrad and J-P produce this line as soon as a first child audience member donates. In the same way as the "doesn't have a job" line, the humour is generated through the play on categories and category bound activities. Here, it is the donation activity that is ironised as "playing a game". Again, the performer is able to talk about receiving "more" money in a way that doesn't come off as pushy (consider that J-P's "that's not enough" could run the risk of being treated differently if directed towards an adult). What's essential about this kind of talk is that the humour is directed toward other audience members as "overhearers" (Gardair, 2013; Goffman, 1981). This ensures that they continue as participants of the interaction.

The final examples illustrate further variations of how performers talk about

money in non-threatening ways, and display a continuing sensitivity as payment occurs:

Extract 7.9.

(JP.10.8.12)

1 JP: OH LOOK (0.8) TEN PEE (1.2) I WANT A MORTGAGE
2 NOT A SANDWICH

Extract 7.10.

(SH.7.8.12) (SH = Shay)

1 SH: Aw cheers mate (.) thank you (0.4) it means a
2 lot=THERE'S A TENNER (0.4) WHATTA THE TWENTIES
3 LOOK LIKE?

Extract 7.11.

(SH.8.8.12) (SH = Shay)

1 SH: The paper ones are a lot better for flying

In extract 7.9, J-P pokes fun at a derisory sum received (again, whether it really has or hasn't been received is not important) using a surreal rhyming contrast. In extracts 7.10 and 7.11, Shay finds ways of gently talking about receiving higher sums of money; the first occasion is prompted by a man handing over a ten pound note; the second occasion is produced as nominal sums are being deposited.

These are just a selection of some of the "stock lines" used when the performer is receiving donations. Their function tends not to be so much about obligating audience members to donate (in the same way as during the "hat speech" or in "closing the show"), but to encourage audience members to be as generous as they can when they visit the hat. For this reason, they are forward looking, directed to those audience members who are yet to deposit money. Performers talk explicitly about preferable amounts of money ("five pounds"; "a tenner"; "twenties") as well as preferable forms (paper over coin). This work is made possible by the material—"at a glance"—properties of the various denominations of money, which the performer utilises as resources. Performers exploit receiving large denominations (distinctly recognisable objects in paper form) as opportunities to show the rest of the audience how others have valued the show. Also note that talk about donations remains a delicate matter, but one way of handling this is to make it humorous

(Mulkay & Howe, 1994).

I now turn to the other oriented activity in the performer's talk, which is concerned with showing appreciation for the received donations. As we have seen chapter 3, in return for dropping some money into the hat the performer can respond with an appreciation token—a simple “thanks”. However, in the circle show there are two classes of audience member that can receive marked expression of appreciation. These are now examined.

7.4.2. Showing appreciation

Most performers will recruit volunteers to help with the show—assisting with laying out the rope (that marks where audience members are to stand), holding uni-cycles steady, fastening straitjacket buckles, and so on. Volunteers (recruited from the audience) are an important link between the performer and the rest of the audience. Audiences might not be so enthused about the performance, but they are generally willing to show support for a volunteer (partly because one of them could have been chosen to be the volunteer). It's typical that the performer will request that the audience gives a rapturous round of applause for the volunteer. And because the experience of being a volunteer is overwhelmingly positive, it's typical that volunteers will generously donate (Clark & Pinch, 1995).

During the donations activity, the volunteer is afforded particular marked expressions of appreciation from the performer:

Extract 7.12.

(CR.10.8.12) (CR = Conrad)

```
1      CR:  Thank you (0.8) thank you very much (.) thank
2           you (0.2) thank you (0.2) thank you very much
3           (0.2) thank you (0.2) thank you so much Megan
4           (0.3) thanks pal (0.2) >cheers buddy<
```

Extract 7.13.

(CR.12.8.12) (CR = Conrad)

```
1      CR:  IF YOU'RE WONDERING WHAT'S GOING ON PEOPLE ARE
2           GIVING ME MONEY NOTHING JUST JOIN ↑IN (1.0)
3           thank you very much (0.3) thank you (0.4) thank
4           you (.) good on ya sweetheart (.) thank you (.)
5           Kim (you are/you were incredible) thank you so
6           much sweetheart
```

In both examples, Conrad's thanks to his volunteers are made personal. The special status is produced through the inclusion of the person's name—something

otherwise unavailable for all the other donating audience members—but also through the inclusion of the intensifier “so much” (line 3, 7.12; lines 5 & 6, 7.13). Conrad’s general expressions of thanks tend to be produced as “thank you” and the intensified “thank you very much”. The volunteer thanks is produced as [volunteer name] + “thank you *so much*,” and it is done in a local environment in which generic expressions of thanks are produced toward regular donating audience members. It’s only a small shift to an alternative way of expressing gratitude, but in doing so it achieves the marking of a special kind of thanks.

In extract 7.13, Conrad also compliments (see Pomerantz, 1978) his volunteer (“you are/were incredible”). This was also common with other volunteers:

Extract 7.14.

(J.P.27.7.12)

1 JP: ah GO BACK GET SOME MORE IT’S A GAME KIDS (1.0)
 2 thank you you were awesome (0.2) thank you for
 3 helping (1.0) THAT’S ONE OF THE WEIRDEST SHOWS
 4 YOU’LL SEE IN A WHILE (1.0) >thank you guys<

Extract 7.15.

(MV.1.3.12)

1 MV: .h thank you guys (.) hey please don’t push
 2 (0.4) unless you have a note and then you can
 3 push >all you ↓like< .h thank you hey buddy you
 4 were a little star (.) thank you for your help
 5 (.) .h thank you guys

Both J-P and Mat recruit a single child volunteer into their respective shows. Child volunteers usually add a certain “cuteness factor” to which audience members tend to be very responsive. In both fragments, the performer both compliments the child volunteer and positively assesses their contribution.

The other category of paying audience member that is marked out for special mention of thanks is the *generous* paying audience member. These are audience members who give non-trivial sums (mostly £5.00 notes, but not infrequently £10.00 and £20.00 notes). I have already observed that paper money affords recognition of the denomination at a glance. Consider the following extract:

Extract 7.16.

(JP = J-P; AM = Audience member)

```
1    JP:  KIDS >go back<) get some more it's a ↑game
2          (1.4) (good on) you guys (.) [↑thanks [a lot
3                                     [((thumbs up))
4    AM:                                     [((thumbs
5                                     up))
6    JP:  guys (enjoy yeah) (0.6) thank you very much
```

After receiving a note (although it's difficult to see how much because of the distance between the performer and the camera), J-P pays particular thanks to a group of older men who watched the show from almost the beginning (These men had previously been cooperative in moving closer toward the performance area, when J-P had been managing the arrangement of the audience circle). J-P marks this donation as particularly appreciative ("good on you guys" + "thanks a lot guys (enjoy yeah)") (lines 2 & 6). This appreciation is produced with a thumbs up directed towards the other members of the group, who remain stood at the edge of the audience circle. What's quite nice about this example is the way that J-P treats the donation as coming from a "with", and, moreover, locates and thanks that unit with a thumbs up (This is subsequently reciprocated by a member of the group).

The following extract has already been discussed above (7.10), with regard to Shay using the receiving of the note as an opportunity to produce gentle patter. However, also notice that Shay expresses how much it "means" to be given ten pounds:

Extract 7.17.

(SH.7.8.12) (SH = Shay)

```
1    SH:  >yeah< (.) thank you (0.3) thank you (0.3)
2          thank you very much thank you (0.2) Aw cheers
3          mate (.) thank you (0.4) it means a lot=THERE'S
4          A TENNER (0.4) WHATTA THE TWENTIES LOOK LIKE?
```

As well as Shay's talk being appropriately fitted to the degree of generosity of the donator ("Aw cheers mate (.) thank you (0.4) it means a lot). The yet-to-donate audience members can also hear *just what* giving a "tenner" will mean if they are as generous.

The final two fragments come from two separate Tony shows:

Extract 7.18.

(TR.4.8.12) (TR = Tony)

1 TR: aww thanks guys (0.2) ladies and gentlemen< (.)
2 oh wow look five pounds from a little girl I
3 don't think she's got a job (0.4) thank you so
4 much guy(h)s that's incredibly generous (.)
5 thank you so much (0.2) thank you so much madam
6 (0.2) mate that's incredibly generous thank you
7 (0.2) ladies and gentlemen look at all these
8 wonderful children giving me money (0.2) oh my
9 god that's incredibly generous thank you (.)
10 ladies and gentlemen these children are
11 wonderful

Extract 7.19.

(TR.31.7.12) (TR = Tony)

1 TR: ladies and gentlemen look at all these
2 wonderful children giving me money (0.2) very
3 generous mate (.) thank you so much< (.) ladies
4 and gentlemen please go and have more children

In extract 7.18, Tony thanks three separate audience members who give notes with “that’s incredibly generous”. It’s impossible to conclude on the third occasion (because the camera view is obstructed), but on the first and second occasions each audience member gives a £5.00 note. Tony’s assessment of these contributions as “incredibly generous” (lines 4 & 6) is consistent with his hat speech (see chapter 5), when he tells the audience what various sums of money mean to him (“a five pound note (.) is fantastic (.) it’s generous (.) it tells me you enjoyed the show (.) had a genuine laugh (.) and you appreciate what we’re trying to achieve with street theatre”). Extract 7.19 (lines 2 and 3) shows a similar upgraded assessment (“very generous mate”) and indicates a consistency in the way that Tony treats donators that give non-trivial sums.

In this section, I have discussed how certain donating audience members warrant upgraded expressions of appreciation. First, volunteers are an intrinsic part of the circle show: a good volunteer can make a significant contribution toward the success of the show, and ultimately influence how well the performer will get paid. It seems only fitting, then, that volunteers receive marked thanks from the performer. Second, audience members who are seen to give non-trivial sums of money are often told how much the donation means, that they are generous, and so on. Of course, one should remember that these acts of giving are not totally “spontaneous” since the performer has spent considerable time and effort

instructing the audience how much they should give and what it means.

The final section examines a series of extracts when donators pursued some brief interaction with the performer. These illustrate how donators gave money in order to show the performer how much they've valued the performance. Significantly, interaction with the performer had to be accomplished within the "many at a time" organisation of donations.

7.5. Depositing money: showing appreciation

Many audience members did *not* pursue contact with the performer. Such an occasion is illustrated in extract 7.20. The audience member's gaze is fixed on the hat when approaching and depositing, and only shifts elsewhere when withdrawing.

Extract 7.20.



The *many at a time* organisation of donations did not pose an insignificant practical problem for audience members who wanted contact with the performer. There was no guarantee that the performer would witness any particular occasion of donation (As a point of contrast, consider that the musical busker only had to handle one donation at a time). As illustrated in the extract above, the performer could be attending to another audience member (in this case the small boy visible in (B - C)). If the donator had wanted his act of depositing money to be witnessed he

would first need to have the performer notice him. Plainly, on this occasion, approaching and depositing was not enough to achieve that. However, the recordings show that some audience members were able to secure the attention of the performer, and briefly establish focused interaction. The performer was, on such occasions, initially attending to other audience members depositing into the hat. Some examples of this occurrence are now discussed.

In extract 7.21, the audience member waits until the performer has finished interacting with other paying audience member. This allows him find an “opening” that would permit initiating contact.

Extract 7.21.



At (A), the performer is receiving and acknowledging a donation from a small child. A woman wearing sunglasses is next to donate. When she deposits her coins, the donator of interest (arrowed in (A)), arrives at the hat (B). His hand reaches just above the hat (C) as the performer thanks the woman wearing sunglasses. At this time, the performer’s gaze is directed towards her. When the donator’s hand reaches just inside the hat, he shifts his gaze from the hat to the performer (D). He does not immediately deposit the coins, but holds them for approximately 0.4 seconds. The coins are then released when the performer reorients his gaze toward the donator

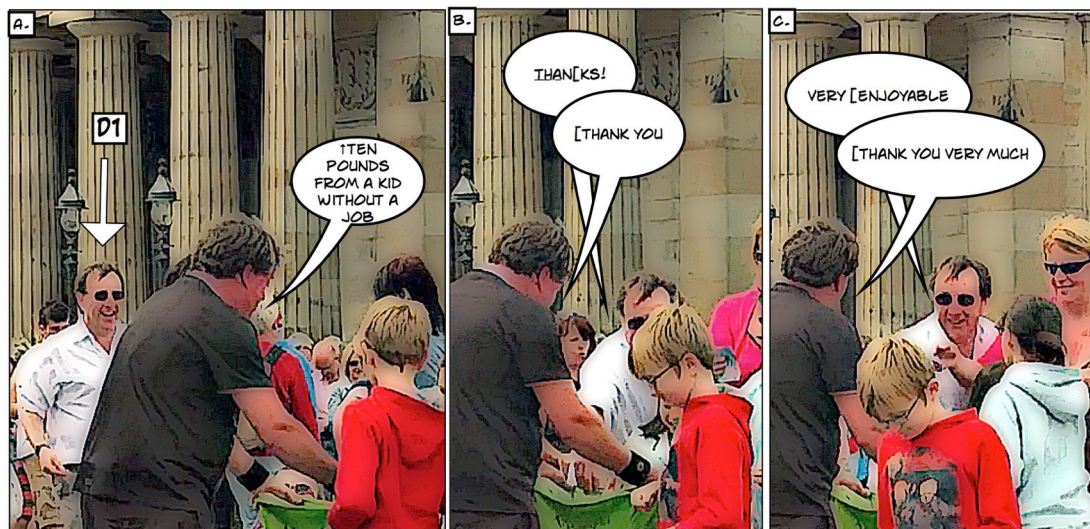
(E), and this co-occurs with the performer's "thank you sir, thank you". At the same time, the donator produces a nod of his head. He then immediately withdraws his hand (F) and walks away.

On this occasion it's not so much that donator must contend with lots of audience members simultaneously depositing money into the hat. Indeed, the donation activity is almost complete and he will be the last audience member to visit the hat. However, by the time he goes to deposit money into the hat the performer remains visibly busied with thanking the previous audience member. By delaying depositing—a non-normative move—he is accountably "waiting". This is sufficient to elicit a noticing from the performer, who, having thanked the previous donator, immediately reorients his gaze toward this donator.

If we consider how the money object is implicated in this work, consider that once the money is deposited into the hat it is not differentiable from any other of the donations of the same denomination. When the money is deposited it is "alienated" from the donator. Thus, by having the performer witness the depositing action, he in turn witnesses the donator as having donated.

In extract 7.22, the donator secures the performer's attention by thanking him, thus establishing a brief focused interaction.

Extract 7.22.



At (A), the donator approaches whilst a number of audience members surround the hat. When he arrives at the hat, he leans in to deposit his coins and thanks the performer ("THANKS!") (B). In overlap, the performer acknowledges ("thank you") the money deposited from another audience member—a small girl,

barely visible in (B). Perhaps because of the donator's loud and emphasised "THANKS!", the performer reorients his gaze. Mutual gaze is then briefly established (C). The donator then provides a general assessment ("very enjoyable"). The performer's overlapping "thank you very much" acknowledges the donator's adjacently prior "THANKS!".

Consider that the donator's "THANKS!" elicits a noticing from the performer—it draws his attention. The timing of the thanks, with the depositing action, seems to be significant: when the performer turns to gaze at the donator, he sees the latter visibly withdrawing his hand from the hat. That is, he is clearly seen to have deposited money. The simultaneous production of "THANKS!" and depositing the money are also mutually elaborative.

Thus, both extracts 7.21 and 7.22 evidence that some donators will go to the trouble of pursuing brief interaction with the circle show performer, and find ways to do so in light of the fact that the performer's attention might be directed elsewhere. These interactions accomplish giving a donation as witness-able, by drawing the performer's attention to the physical act of depositing money into the hat.

The recordings also captured occasions of audience members going a step further: not only would they produce their donation activity as witness-able, but they would draw particular attention to the money denominations that were being given. In contrast to the previous two examples, these were occasions when audience members were giving non-trivial sums of money—specifically notes. On such occasions, audience members were accomplishing the witness-ability of *just what* they were donating. As was the case for the previous two extracts above, this necessarily required making witness-able *just that* they were donating.

In extract 7.23, the donations activity has only just got underway: two donating audience members have deposited and a number of children have arrived at the hat.

Extract 7.23.



At (A), the arrowed donator approaches the hat. After producing the kids/game patter, the performer proceeds to thank a number of audience members depositing money (B). As the performer does this, the donator arrives at the hat and more or less comes to a standstill. Despite having unobstructed access to the hat, he does not deposit his money. As in extract 7.21, he waits as other surrounding audience members deposit their money. Note that the deposits occur more or less successively (This is partly due to the staggered way that the audience members arrived at the hat). As this happens, the performer is busied with making small repositions of the hat, so that audience members can reach it. The performer briefly glances towards the hands of the donator, but then quickly attends to another person who is straining to make a deposit (B). The performer's glance toward the donator is done as part of the work of searching for incoming money. This is potentially one place where a space for depositing becomes available. However, the donator's gaze is focused on the hat and he keeps his arms by his sides.

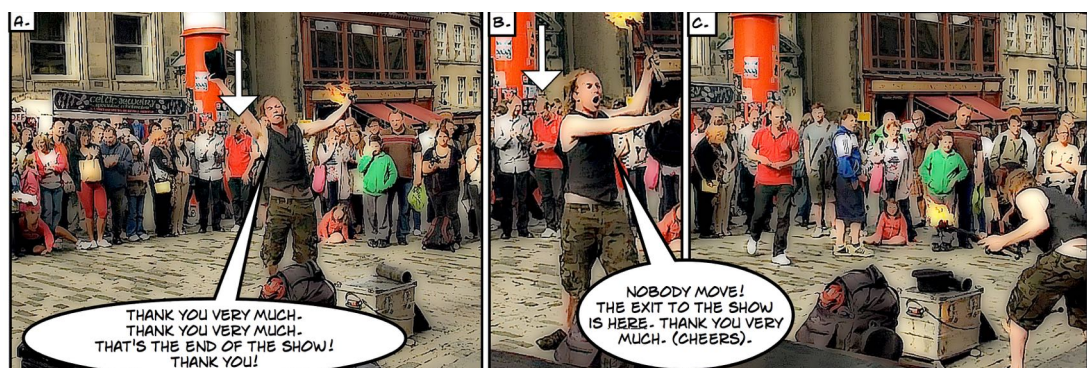
The performer again gazes at the donator and this time mutual gaze is established (C). At the same time, the donator begins to move: he takes a step forward with his right foot. There are no other audience members in the immediate vicinity waiting to deposit. Interestingly, instead of depositing his money into the

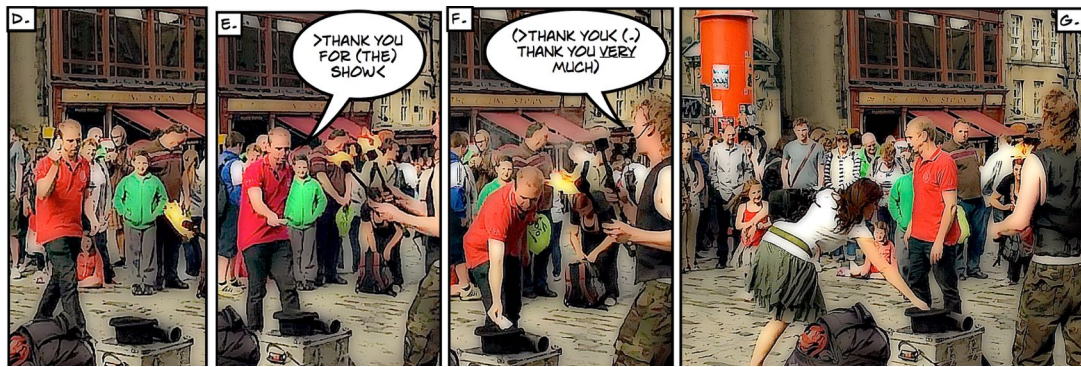
hat—an appropriate next action—the donator first holds up the money to the performer (D). At the same time, and though it’s difficult to hear, he also tells the performer how much he is giving (“(ten pounds)”). Eye contact is broken as the money is deposited, but is then quickly reestablished as the performer provides an acknowledgment (“aw cheers mate thank you (0.7) it means a lot”). The performer’s response achieves a pointed show of appreciation in relation to this donation. It does so in the way that it differs from the previous string of generic “thank yous” (B-C)—in particular, the affiliative “cheers mate” and “it means a lot”.

In this fragment, then, the audience member delays depositing so as to find a space in which he can obtain the attention of the performer. This in turn allows him to have the performer see and hear *just what* denomination of money he is going to deposit. This project is partly assisted by the physical properties of the money media, i.e., its paper form. Note how, in contrast to the previous fragments, the donator goes to a great deal of effort to show the performer what he is going to deposit into the hat. Aside from a few occasions when young children deposited money, there were no instances of audience members making a point of showing or telling the performer the denomination of coins that were being deposited into the hat. By telling and showing the performer how much, this donator draws attention to the denomination of the money. Thus, he makes explicit how he has valued the performance.

The final extract captures the moment when the performer closes the show and moves into the donation activity.

Extract 7.24.





The donator, arrowed in (A), initiates a search for money when the performer announces the end of the show. By the time the performer configures the hat as the exit to the show, the donator has taken a note out of his wallet (B). This preparation work provides him with the opportunity to approach as soon as the show moves into the donation activity, immediately following the performer placing the hat on the trailer (C). As it happens, the donator *is* the first to approach. The donator manipulates the note so that it can be held rigidly flat in his hand (C). He also holds the note in such a way that approximately two-thirds are exposed. Prior to depositing the money into the hat, he produces an elaborate gesture: at (D) we see the “preparation phase” of the gesture (Kendon, 2004)—the hand being raised above shoulder height. This is followed by a pointed downward “stroke” (E). The gesture is accompanied by the donator’s thanks (“>thank you for (the) show<”), thus tying talk and action together. In response, the performer acknowledges the money deposited (F). The performer’s emphasis on “very” registers that a non-trivial amount has been given.

This donator does several things to elicit a noticing from the performer, and thus achieve the witness-ability of his donation. Again, these make relevant several features of the many at a time organisation of donations: first, by preparing to donate relatively early, the donator is able get himself into a position to be able to deposit as soon as the hat is made available to receive money; the donator puts himself in a position of being a “first”. Second, as the donator is in fact the first to approach, he makes himself highly visible as an incumbent “donating audience member”. Third, the donator further utilises the fact of being first as a resource for giving heightened visibility to *just* what he is about to deposit into the hat. That is, how he has valued the performance. Unlike the donator in figure 7.23, he doesn’t tell the performer how much he is donating; rather, the donator’s talk (“>thank you for (the) the show<”), insofar as it co-occurs with the gesture, is mutually elaborative in conveying appreciation.

In all four extracts, each donating audience member accomplished having contact with the performer—this was despite the performer’s attention being initially elsewhere, owing to the *many at a time organisation* of the donation activity. Moreover, the action of the audience member depositing money into the hat was made witness-able to the performer. Specifically, in figures 7.21 and 7.22 *just that* the audience member was depositing was made witness-able; the audience member made relevant/brought to the performer’s attention *that* a donation was being given. In fragments 7.23 and 7.24 *just what* was donated was made witness-able. These occasions involved audience members giving non-trivial sums (i.e., notes). Notes (in the UK, at least) afford the possibility of recognising their denomination at a glance. Coins do not permit this so easily; for example, when several coins are being given at the same time. In all four examples, the performer acknowledges the money deposited into the hat. In 7.23 and 7.24 the performer displays an upgraded expression of appreciation, which is appropriately aligned to the non-trivial sum of money given.

7.6. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the donation activity sequence at the end of the circle show. It offers the first sustained empirical analysis of how circle show performers and audience members organise giving and receiving donations. The chapter first provided a detailed description of the unique “many at a time” organisation of the donation activity. Thereafter, I demonstrated the recurrent work of the performers pursuing non-trivial sums of money, by responding to occasions of money deposited in hat. I also discussed how the performers show appreciation for donations. Performers will exhibit special appreciation for volunteers and audience members who give non-trivial sums of money. Such acknowledgments have a double function because they are hearable by yet-to-donate audience members as appropriately appreciative and grateful. In the final section, I provided a set of examples that evidenced how audience members can show how they’ve valued the performance. This was accomplished not simply in and through the sum of money that was donated, but in the witness-ability of the act of depositing the money into the hat. This work oriented to the “*just that*” and the “*just what*”.

The many at a time organisation of donations is fundamentally different to the order of organisations described in chapters 3 and 4, which mostly happen “one at a time”. The many at a time organisation generates particular donation relevant features including “firsts” and “lasts”; although many at a time, the donations activity does not happen “all at once”. Some audience members rush forward to drop a donation into the hat (particularly children), but many audience members

only begin to organise giving a donation at this stage in the show. Especially within groups or “withs”, how much will be donated and who is to deposit the donation have to be established.

During the donation activity, the performer is able to use the continual flow of donators as a resource. Performers use occasions of donating to gently and humorously encourage yet-to-donate audience members to consider giving non-trivial denominations. For this work, the performer is able to exploit the affordance that paper money is recognisable “at a glance”. Performers are able to latch on to these donating occasions and then make them public to the rest of the audience (“ten pounds from a kid without a job”). With that said, performers can also use occasions of receiving nominal denominations to their advantage. For example, nominal denominations can be gently mocked (“I’m saving for a mortgage, not a sandwich”).

Perhaps what is most interesting about circle show donations is how the hat, as a receptacle object, generates interesting situations for depositing money. Many audience members simply deposit their donation into the performer’s hat and withdraw, without any “focused interaction” (Goffman, 1963) with the performer. Thus, giving a donation, for many audience members, is a supportive act in itself. However, a quirk of donating in the circle show is that once that money is in the hat it is “non-differentiable” from all the other donations—the performer cannot tell who gave what because the donation is alienated from the giver. Donations after the performance become differentiable in other ways: between good and bad shows and not between individual donators. Only the non-trivial denominations, i.e., the notes, will have a particular salience. This is because they will be fewer in number and each note is recognisable as given from one donating audience member (e.g., three five-pound notes will be recognisable as three separate instances of non-trivial donations). The donating extracts, therefore, highlight some of the practical problems that the “many at a time” organisation generates for donating audience members, in terms of having contact with the performer and showing how they value the performance.

By enlivening the act of donating in the hat speech, during closing, and the payment sequence, the performer provides the possibility for giving a donation to be more than straightforward economic remuneration. As discussed in detail in chapter 5, the donation activity is transformed as a possibility for audience members to show that they’ve enjoyed the performance, to show how much they’ve enjoyed performance, and to support the performer to continue performing for others. In turn, audience members utilise the properties of cash money as a resource to have

contact with the performer and to show appreciation in and through *that they gave* and *what they gave*. These observations build directly upon the work of Llewellyn (2015), in analysing the social interactional work that is accomplished with money in the ways it was handled, displayed, and deposited.

Following the few studies that have considered the interactional accomplishment of other kinds of exchange (Brown, 2004; Llewellyn, 2011a; Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008), the analyses in this chapter has sought to foreground the handling of the money objects as an important yet often overlooked part of the circle show performance.

Discussion

This thesis has interrogated three different kinds of street performances. In each case, following the ethnomethodological and conversation analytical traditions, it has investigated what performers use to accomplish entertaining passers-by in return for money donations. At first glance, the question is perhaps banal and the answer obvious, but the analyses have elucidated a rich and complex collection of embodied and collaborative practices of performers, passers-by and audience members. Some concluding thoughts on what conceptual contributions this thesis has made will now be discussed.

This thesis has explicated how the three kinds of street performance are “perspicuous settings” (Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992) for further understanding the related phenomena of gift exchange and reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960; Mauss, 1990 [1925]). This contributes to the existing ethnomethodological and conversation analytic work that has already analysed gifts and reciprocity as practical accomplishments of social interaction (Llewellyn, 2011a, 2011b). Such work treats gift exchange and reciprocity not as conceptual problems requiring clarification, but as lively things, produced and recognised by the participants themselves.

In that regard, through close empirical analysis, the thesis has tracked how a practical orientation to gift exchange and reciprocity was put to interactional work in order to accomplish street performances in return for money donations. This basis of exchange was organised around certain practical problems that the street performers faced in relation to getting paid for entertaining passers-by in a public space setting. The observation was made that, unlike certain kinds of market activities, the street performers were not selling physical goods but offering “experiences” (Kushner & Brooks, 2000). They were, nonetheless, organisationally distinct from formal kinds of entertainment, which are similarly in the business of providing experiences. This was because access to the street performances could not be easily regulated, and paying for watching in advance could not be enforced.

As a solution, across all three kinds of street performances, the shows were *freely* performed for passers-by; there were no constraints on participating as an

audience member—anyone could stop and watch. But there was also purposeful ambiguity about the “freeness” of these performances. This was signalled, for example, in the way that the musical busker and living statue performer placed a hat on the ground for collecting donations. The visibility of the hat signalled that the performers had expectations that their performances should be reciprocated by giving money donations. The visibility of the hat as a purposefully placed receptacle object implicitly formulated an exchange relationship between the performance and money donations. In those performances, it was for passers-by and audience members to find the relevance of giving a money donation. Whereas, the ambiguity about the freeness of the performance in the circle shows remained until the performer explicitly talked about money donations and formulated the exchange-relationship. Talk of donations was either completely absent during the early part of the circle show performance, or the performer merely hinted at it.

Thus, despite the recognised problematic nature of the free gift (Douglas, 1990; Llewellyn, 2011a), plainly it can be useful in some circumstances. Producing the street performances as free gifts encouraged passers-by to stop and watch and participate as audience members. And one could argue that many passers-by might have been hesitant to participate if that was conditional on giving money. For example, passers-by might not have been as open to engage the statue performer in playful interactions, or to stop and watch the busking performance. The efficacy of producing the performances as free was in the way that it provided the “moral content” (Laidlaw, 2000) from which the relevance of a reciprocal relationship between “being entertained” and “giving a money donation” was established; producing the performances as free allowed performers to give something to passers-by and audience members, which worked up a sense of indebtedness. Of course, this did not mean that every passer-by and audience member gave a donation; rather, it made walking away without donating an observably moral problem. A similar sort of moral problem might be recognised in relation to occasions of tipping at a restaurant: it is perfectly permissible not to give tip, but walking away without doing so invites a narrow set of assessments (e.g., the person is “tight”, disliked the meal, was unhappy with the meal, was culturally incompetent, etc.).

The analyses evidenced how money donations from audience members and passers-by were always accountable as a reciprocal response to the performance. Donations did not occupy the sequential position as “firsts”. This included those instances of donations that were given to the mermaid statue performer in return for posing for a photograph (those encounters were anticipated by the statue

performer's novel appearance). In this way, donations were not "spontaneous acts of charitable giving" (Llewellyn, 2011a, p.156). The street performance was always sequentially positioned as the "first", and in that way it had a "voluntary character" (Simmel, 1950) that could not be replicated by the donation given in return. This was most explicitly established in the circle show performances, where donations were formulated through talk as specifically given in return for being entertained. But we also saw the way that the musical busker, in providing acknowledgments of thanks to donators, treated donations as given in response to the performance.

In that regard, the thesis demonstrates how moral obligation in gift exchange can be exhibited through embodied conduct. Moral obligation is a central part of Mauss's (1990 [1925]) thesis on gift exchange, but we do not learn how participants to a gift exchange exhibit an interactional orientation to it. In the domain of street performance, this was somewhat addressed by Clark and Pinch's (1995) analysis of circle show performances; however, it was construed as something that is entirely produced by the street performers, through talk, and enforced on audience members. That is, moral obligation was something enforced on audience members, with audience members portrayed as passive recipients. Alternatively, the analyses in this thesis have revealed the ways moral obligation was collaboratively constituted through embodied practices such as, in the case of busking performances, stopping and watching. To stop and watch was to visibly participate in the performance—it was to make observable that one is being entertained by the performance. In the statue performances, passers-by registered receipt of the performer's creepy and tactile gestures through laughter and displays of wonderment. Similarly, in the circle shows, audience members indicated they were having a good time through verbal responses (including talk and laughter) applauding, and raising hands. In all such instances, the "experience" of the performance was registered and publicly observable through the embodied conduct of participation.

Interestingly, moral obligation is not only found in the kinds of informal economic encounters described here. It can be found to operate in complex settings such as financial markets. For example, Muniesa (2008) provides the following anecdote from a city trader talking about deals with another trader whose provision of information generated a transaction:

If an idea is coming from Morgan Stanley, it is quite fair to go and deal with Morgan Stanley. You see? It's fair play. Because they pay for their research, in order to bring such ideas. They give you the idea, so you should deal with them. Well, they won't try to find out if you deal with JP Morgan instead, but

... it's a kind of a moral obligation. (p.298)

Despite the seemingly different settings between the street and the trading office, and other kinds of market settings, one might expect that orientations to moral obligation and reciprocity are the basis for many different kinds of economic encounters.

The thesis also contributes to a small and recent collection of research that has been interested in understanding the use of money in interaction. Despite money being extensively theorised in both economics and sociology, little interest has been given to what people actually do with money. This thesis provides new understanding about the way that physical money media features in social interaction—the way that it is talked about, handled and transferred. The thesis demonstrates that an important part of understanding money's "moneyness" (Ingham, 2004) is to investigate how it features in social interaction (also see Llewellyn, 2015; Richardson, 2014). That is, to examine its "factual uses" (Ganßmann, 1988).

In the busking and living statue encounters we saw how people donated token, or nominal, sums of money. But this was not because they were only minimally valuing the performances (Carruthers & Espeland, 1998). The value of the money was secondary to what depositing it into the hat accomplished. The significance of giving a money donation resided in its witness-ability. Being seen to deposit a coin or two into the hat accomplished a supportive or "affiliative" move with regard to the performer's project of entertaining in return for money donations. In the case of the busking performances, depositing a donation into the hat also provided a brief space for interaction and contact between the performer and an individual donator—something that was not interactionally possible when participating as an audience member. These were brief moments of contact, but they were significant in what they accomplished. In the living statue performances, particularly in the posing for a photograph encounters, the witness-able action of depositing a coin was used to secure the performer's cooperation. Thus, contrary to the sort of concern that was issued by both Marx and Simmel, we learn that giving money actually facilitated brief moments of sociality between performers and audience members/passers-by.

In the circle show encounters, money was explicitly talked about and evaluated. Performers told their audiences what different quantities of money donations meant to them. In this way, performers instructed audience members about how money would be assessed when it was deposited into the hat. For

example, they would explain how one particular donation amount is “good” while another is “fine”. Circle show performers also attempted to steer their audiences towards donating non-trivial sums of money in the way that money was evaluated. Audience members were told how lower sums of money should be given on the grounds of affordability rather than as a reflection of how the performance was valued. Interestingly, then, it was money that was being evaluated relative to the performance (and not the other way round). Money was configured to have additional meaning, beyond its instrumental use as a measure of value; money had “social meaning” (Zelizer, 1994)—it was a way of showing appreciation and support for the performer. Giving a money donation was supportive act.

The analyses also show how an understanding of the use of money and its “moneyness” must also attend to its materiality. The salience of the physical form of money media was especially visible when donators deposited money in the circle show performances. Performers utilised the “at a glance” properties of different money media in order to pursue non-trivial donations from yet-to-donate audience members. For example, the value of notes was observable as they were being deposited into the hat. Certain denominations could then be announced to others and provide a point of reference for what others were donating. At the same time, the different material properties of money media were utilised by donating audience members to show *that* and *what* they were donating. Notes could be held out flat and presented to the performer in a way that that coins could not. But coins could also be used to draw attention to the donation as they “clink” together, and the way they are dropped into the hat.

While cash money is undoubtedly used in quite novel ways in street performances, studies of other kinds of economic conduct (Llewellyn, 2015; Richardson, 2014) reveal the way that the money object is an inextricable part of accomplishing market activities. And despite the march towards a “cashless society”, there is still a need to understand the actual ways the money media (including card and new payment technologies) are used in actual concrete instances of economic conduct.

In addition to the cash money, the analyses have also paid attention to the materiality of the hat as significant for how the street performances were ordered and organised. The analyses evidenced the ways that the “hat” was a “mediating agent” (Preda, 2008) in the interactions between performers and donating audience members/passers-by. This is the first study of street performance to analyse the hat in interactional terms. The hat was not only a receptacle object, i.e., “pure instrument” (Muniesa et al., 2007); rather, it actively shaped how donations were

accomplished. On almost every occasion of donation, donating audience members and passers-by never directly gave money to the performer; money was deposited into the hat.

In the busking and living statue performances the hat was made ongoingly available to receive donations. This was achieved by setting the hat on the ground. Though, more than that, its availability as a receptacle for donations was accountable through its visibility of being purposefully placed to do that work; that is, not simply seen as a hat or a box on the ground. For these kinds of street performances, depositing a donation exhibited a number of recurrent organisational features: Donating audience members deposited as soon as they arrived at the hat. This required pre-selecting a donation before approaching the hat. Also, donors did not linger at the hat. Giving a donation required depositing the money into the hat and then immediately withdrawing. Donating money in this way meant that the performer was able to continue with the work of performing—the busker playing his guitar and the statue performer seeking out the next candidate passer-by for playful interaction.

How donations happened was structured as a consequence of the affordances of the hat. For example, in the busking and living statue performances, audience members and passers-by could donate at anytime during the performance. This meant that people did not have to hang around until the end of the performance; thus, stopping, watching and participating in the performance could be organised around pre-existing projects. By contrast, the circle show performers purposefully restricted access to the hat until the end of the performances. This was done either by keeping it in a suitcase, or wearing it as an accoutrement. It was, at the very least, unclear as to *where* and *how* audience members should donate. Audience members were therefore encouraged to watch the performance until the end, and the performances were structured accordingly. In particular, the hat speech was designed to occur just before the finale trick, and donations collected after the finale trick. This structural organisation was partly accomplished through the availability and configuration of the hat as a receptacle object.

The analyses also evidenced how one particular affordance of the hat — that multiple could donations could be made at the same time as well as in quick succession—permitted a “many at a time” organisation of donations in the circle shows. Performers could restrict donations until the end of the performance and then have donors deposit their money within a relatively short space of time. A circle show performer’s project of collecting donations would be greatly hampered if it was organised around some other object, which only permitted deposits of

money “one at a time”.

This thesis’s discussion on the materiality of street performances, therefore, adds to the growing collection of studies that have considered how objects and artefacts feature in economic encounters (e.g., Heath, 2013; vom Lehn, 2014b). More generally, it adds to the growing collection of ethnomethodological and conversation analytic research that attends to the way that the production of social order is not only accomplished through the interaction between humans, but also through interaction through objects and artefacts and the material setting more generally (Nevile et al., 2014).

In sum, this thesis provides new knowledge about the way that the street performers, in concert with audience members and passers-by, solve the payment problem of providing entertainment in return for donations. The thesis has tracked the way that performances are ordered and organised through an orientation to the performance received as a gift, and the moral obligation to reciprocate money donations that is interactionally “worked up”.

Word count: 81,632

Appendix A

Glossary of main transcription notation taken from Jefferson (2004b) and Atkinson (1984a):

(.)	Micro pause less than 0.2 seconds
(1.5)	Time in tenths of seconds
WORD	Spoken louder than surrounding talk
°word°	Spoken softer than surrounding talk
word=word	No gap between talk
word,	comma denotes fall-rise intonation
word↑	arrow denotes rising pitch
<u>word</u>	Underscore denotes emphasis/stress
<word	Left push indicating a hurried start
<word>	Talk in between brackets slowed down
>word<	Talk in between brackets speeded up
wor-	Word cut off
Word<	Word stops suddenly
Wor::d	Colon denotes prolongation of preceding sounds
Wo(h)rd	Laughter particle
(word)	Transcriber's guess
((word))	Transcriber's description
wo[rd	
wo]rd	Square bracket denotes overlapping talk

Audience transcription symbols:

h-h-h	Sporadic audience laughter
hhhhh	Quiet laughter
HHHHH	Loud laughter
-x-x-x	Spasmodic/hesitant applause
xxxxxx	Soft audience applause
XXXXXX	Loud audience applause
[XXXXXXXX]	
—(1.0)—	Duration of applause
wwwww	Soft audience cheers
WWWWW	Loud audience cheers

Appendix B

Participant information sheet used during fieldwork.



July & August 2012

Research project: Street Performing & Audiences

This research project is interested in how street performances take place, how they are noticed by passers-by, and how they are watched by crowds.

The researcher, Tim Smith, is using video cameras (recording picture and sound) to capture street performances. The researcher, Tim Smith, will also be taking photographs of street performers and audiences.

The video footage will be used for analysis, and some clips may be included in the thesis write-up. The footage will be held only by the researcher, Tim Smith, and will only be used for academic purposes. The footage will, under no circumstance, be released into the public domain. Any picture or sound that is not related to the street performance will be deleted by the researcher on review.

If you would like to have any footage/photograph, in which you feature, deleted, please inform the researcher, Tim Smith.

Further questions?

Please contact the researcher for any further questions or concerns you might have.

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